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**Internationalism
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and Our Epoch**

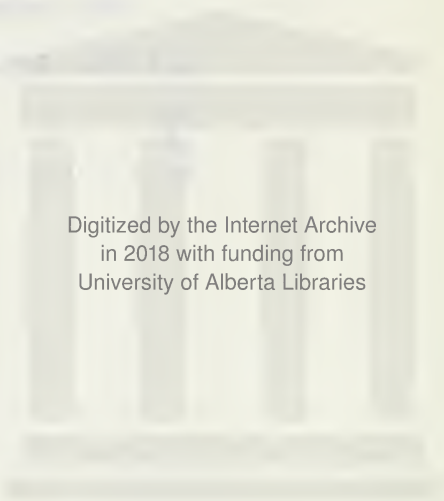
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FROM THE PUBLISHERS

● At the end of 1965 the Novosti Press Agency Publishing House put out a collection of articles written by Soviet specialists on international affairs and entitled *National-Liberation Movement: Vital Problems*.

The book was well received by mass readers in various countries and won favourable comment of many reviewers. For example, the magazine *New Africa* in its March-April 1966 issue described the collection as the most interesting and important of all books on the subject in the recent period. The Indian magazine *Link* pointed out in its issue of November 14,

1965 that the collection *National-Liberation Movement: Vital Problems* was the first, after the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, exhaustive presentation of Soviet views on the problems of the developing countries in Asia and Africa. The reviewer wrote in conclusion that it would be very useful to have the book translated into the main languages of India.

In view of the keen interest in many countries in the opinion of Soviet scholars on the major issues of the liberation movement of the Afro-Asian and Latin-American peoples and the problems facing the emergent nations building a new life the Novosti Press Agency Publishing House has prepared another collection of articles on the same subject.

The book consists of articles by leading Soviet orientalists and writers on international affairs reprinted from theoretical and political magazines—*Kommunist*, *International Affairs*, *World Economics and International Relations*, and others.

N. KOLIKOV

The Main Forces of the World Revolutionary Process

THE CHARACTER OF OUR EPOCH

● The world we live in is constantly developing and changing. The process of historical development in our time is proceeding at an accelerated pace, with practically the entire population of the globe being now drawn into it. In the five decades since 1917 deep-going changes have taken place in all spheres of man's material and spiritual creative activity. This period has been marked by tempestuous scientific and technological progress which opens up unprecedented opportunities for gaining control over the forces of nature.

But the most striking change has occurred in the social pattern of the world. A graphic confirmation of this is provided by a comparison of the political map of 1917 with that of today. Half

a century ago capitalism ruled supreme everywhere; a small group of colonial powers had arrogated to itself the right to shape the destinies of hundreds of millions of "natives," and the slightest attempts of the colonial and dependent nations to shake off the fetters of imperialist oppression were ruthlessly suppressed.

In our days already a third of mankind has broken with capitalism and is building a new society; a world system of socialist states has come into being. The overwhelming majority of the erstwhile colonies and semi-colonies have attained political independence and are intensifying their struggle for economic independence, in the course of which a number of countries are taking the path of non-capitalist development. The working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries has gained in strength and scope. The communist movement has been broadened and steeled and has become truly world-wide. As a result there have occurred profound qualitative changes in the alignment of world class forces; the strength and intensity of the revolutionary process have grown immeasurably, and its conditions and forms have changed substantially.

A clear understanding of the contemporary world revolutionary process—the correlation of its different factors, the specific character of the tasks, strategy and tactics of each individual contingent, etc.—largely depends on a proper assessment of the character and basic laws of our epoch. It is not accidental that the 1960 Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties devoted so much

attention to these problems. In formulating its strategic line, the communist movement for a long time proceeded from the assumption that the contemporary epoch is the era of "imperialism and proletarian revolution." While essentially correct for its time, this definition no longer corresponds to the new conditions, primarily because the course of world developments in our time is not determined by imperialism alone: there exists a system of socialist states, which is rapidly gaining in strength and becoming the decisive factor of historical development. As regards the second part of the old definition, it does not embrace all aspects of the contemporary revolutionary process.

"Our epoch, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is an epoch of struggle between the two opposing social systems, an epoch of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, of the breakdown of imperialism and the abolition of the colonial system. an epoch of the transition of more and more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale." ¹

Notwithstanding the rich variety of forms of the world revolutionary process and the diversity of anti-imperialist forces, notwithstanding the complexity of their interaction and the contradictions inevitably arising therefrom, the revolutionary struggle in the present-day world

¹ *The Road to Communism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, p. 449.

is essentially a struggle for the transition of human society from capitalism to socialism and communism. Such factors as socialist revolutions, anti-imperialist national-liberation revolutions, people's democratic revolutions, broad peasant movements, popular struggles to overthrow fascist and other despotic regimes, and general democratic movements against national oppression, all merge in a single world-wide revolutionary process which is undermining and destroying capitalism.

A correct understanding of the contemporary epoch enables one to disclose the essential contradictions in world development, and determine their role and interrelations. The three main forces now fighting against imperialism are the world socialist system, the national-liberation movement and the working class of the developed capitalist countries. Contradictions among the imperialist powers also play an important part in contemporary development. Which of these contradictions is decisive? An answer to this question can be based on the following criterion elaborated by Lenin: "We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the various historical movements in a given epoch will develop, but we can and do know which class stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining the main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc. Only on that basis, i.e., by taking into account, in the first place, the fundamental distinctive features of the various 'epochs' (and not single episodes in the history of individual countries),

can we correctly evolve our tactics; only a knowledge of the basic features of a given epoch can serve as the foundation for an understanding of the specific features of one country or another.”¹

The central factor in the contemporary epoch is the international working class, whose struggle determines the main trend and main features of historical progress in our time. When speaking of the contemporary international working class and assessing its significance in world development, it is important to bear in mind that it is not merely the sum-total of the proletarians of all countries. The working class has attained a high degree of organization: it has its own political parties and trade unions; in a number of countries it is represented in parliaments, municipalities, etc. In many countries there has taken shape in varying degrees and at different levels, a system of alliances formed by the working class with other classes and social groups which recognize the role of the proletariat as the vanguard or ally in the common anti-monopoly struggle. But the main achievement of the international working class, which has qualitatively altered the alignment of world forces, is the world socialist system.

It is commonly known that the principal contradiction of capitalist society is the contradiction between labour and capital. In present-day conditions this contradiction, which still persists in bourgeois society, has acquired an interstate character, finding its concentrated expression in the antagonism between two basic forms

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 145.

of property, between the two opposite social systems—socialism and capitalism. This antagonism is precisely the chief, determining factor in the system of world social contradictions, and for the following two reasons: first, although mankind's advance to socialism is an irreversible process, the speed of this advance and the drawing of new peoples into it vastly depend on the achievements of socialist construction in the countries that have already embarked on the new path of development; and, second, the socialist countries represent the chief material force opposed to imperialism and its aggressive policy.

This should not be taken to mean, of course, that the national-liberation movement and the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries are of secondary importance. Both these factors are of decisive significance in the revolutionary process. It should be obvious that the victory of the progressive forces throughout the world cannot be ensured by the efforts of the socialist countries alone. Any attempt to deny this would be tantamount, in effect, to supporting the "export of revolution" thesis, which is utterly alien to Marxism-Leninism. The socialist revolution can break out and triumph in one or another country only when all the internal conditions are ripe for it. In this sense the further development of the national-liberation and revolutionary working-class movements is just as indispensable for the complete triumph of socialism all over the world as the development of the socialist countries already existing. All the contingents parti-

cipating in the world revolutionary process are sovereign and equal. Only their joint struggle can produce results corresponding to the fundamental interests of mankind.

THE MAIN FACTOR OF REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT

● Strictly speaking, the contemporary world revolutionary process began with the spontaneous actions of the proletariat at the dawn of capitalist society. The most important stage in this development was the emergence and spread of Marxism, the proletariat's growing awareness of its historic mission and the organization of its ranks on a national and international scale. A tremendous influence on the development of the revolutionary process was exerted by the heroic Paris Commune. But it was the Great October Socialist Revolution that actually initiated the contemporary world revolutionary process.

The factors that primarily determine the main content and trend of the revolutionary process in our time are the conquest of state power by the proletariat in one country and, subsequently, in a group of countries, the formation of the world socialist system, and the steady enhancement of its international prestige and its economic and military potential.

"...In the present world situation following the imperialist war," Lenin said at the Second Congress of the Communist International, "reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by

the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world. The Communist Parties, in civilized and backward countries alike, can pose and solve political problems correctly only if they make this postulate their starting point.”¹ The correctness of this statement is particularly obvious in our days when one-third of mankind has rallied under the banner of socialism.

What are the ways and means by which the socialist states influence the world revolutionary process? This is not a new question: it arose immediately after the October Socialist Revolution, when the leaders of the Second International hastened to declare that the socialist revolution in Russia had taken place prematurely and continued to regard world revolution as a matter of the distant future. Actually, the victory of the revolution in one country signified the beginning of the world socialist revolution and gave a powerful impetus to its development. From that time on the cardinal principle of proletarian internationalism—“to do everything possible in one country for the development of revolution in all countries”—was filled with a new content. The establishment of the world’s first socialist society in the Soviet country revealed the great power and viability of this principle.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 241.

The indisputable advantages of socialism in the struggle between the two opposing systems of our time, and its vast progressive influence on world development have been confirmed by historical realities.

The formation of the world socialist system has caused the sphere of imperialist domination to be contracted territorially, but even more important is the fact that the imperialists are no longer able to resort to the old methods of international rapine with impunity.

The possibility of employing such methods has been greatly restricted (though it has not disappeared altogether) as a consequence of the deep-going changes in the international political situation and political climate resulting from the existence of the socialist states. Specifically, these changes have been brought about by the socialist states' foreign policy which is based on the principles of the self-determination and sovereignty of nations, and equality and mutual respect in relations between nations and countries, and by their resolute support of the peoples' struggle for independence. The military might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is a powerful barrier to imperialist aggression. During the past decade imperialist aggressors have been forced to retreat on more than one occasion because of the firm stand taken by the socialist countries. The growing might of the socialist system has greatly contributed to the spread of national-liberation revolutions, to the fresh upsurge of the labour and democratic movement in the industrialized capitalist countries and to the breakup of the impe-

rialist colonial system.

While opposing imperialist export of counter-revolution, the Communists at the same time come out against the export of revolution, against imposing "felicity" on other peoples. They firmly believe that such a policy is ruinous to the further development of the revolution and inevitably leads to directly opposite results. Capitalism established its rule with fire and sword, but socialism does not require war to spread its ideals. Its weapon is its superiority over the old system in social organization, political system, economy and improvement of living standards and spiritual culture.

In this connection the character of relations between the two opposite social systems is of paramount significance. The socialist countries have repeatedly declared that these relations must be based on the principle of peaceful coexistence. Advanced by Lenin in the early years of Soviet rule, this principle has stood the test of time. It has been proved by history that peaceful coexistence opens up the most favourable prospects for economic competition between socialism and capitalism, and for the development of the working-class and national-liberation movements.

It stands to reason that peaceful coexistence does not rule out but, on the contrary, presupposes the right of every people freely to choose their own path of social development; it presupposes an irreconcilable struggle against imperialist aggression, against any attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples.

The fight for the triumph of the peaceful co-existence principle in international relations acquires especial importance in present-day conditions when the aggressive policy of the imperialist circles threatens to trigger off the most destructive war in human history. The paramount task facing mankind today is to avert a thermonuclear catastrophe. Conditions today create a very real possibility of thwarting imperialist plans of unleashing another world war: imperialism no longer plays a dominant role in international affairs, the economic and military potential of the socialist system has greatly increased, the influence of the young independent states committed to a policy of peace has grown substantially and the world peace movement has assumed still wider scope. The communist movement is doing its utmost to make this possibility a reality.

The socialist system contributes decisively to the world revolutionary process through its economic achievements. "We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy," Lenin wrote. "The working people of all countries without exception and without exaggeration are looking to the Soviet Russian Republic. This much has been achieved... The struggle in this field has now become global. Once we solve this problem, we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale. That is why for us questions of economic development become of absolutely exceptional importance".¹ Economic struggle

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437.

lies at the basis of all the other forms of socialism's struggle against capitalism. A correct economic policy makes for closer alliance of the working classes within a country and further enhances socialism's influence in international affairs.

Socialism cannot be established by a mere redistribution of available social wealth. Apart from this, the level of development of the productive forces required for socialism rises in proportion to historical progress. It is by demonstrating its superiority over capitalism in the economic, social and political spheres that socialism can exert the maximum influence on the entire world revolutionary process. That is why the struggle for the economic development of the socialist countries has always been of exceptional international significance. The world socialist system embraces 14 countries which together comprise 26 per cent of the Earth's territory and have nearly 35 per cent of its population. In a comparatively short period of time these countries have made significant advances in economic development and remarkable progress in many branches of science and technology.

A graphic illustration of this is provided by the Luna-9 automatic station's soft landing on the Moon, which evoked a feeling of profound admiration throughout the world at the knowledge, experience and skill of Soviet scientists, engineers and workers. "This supreme feat," wrote the French communist leader Waldeck Rochet, "testifies to the fruitfulness and effectiveness of the socialist system which offers unli-

mitted scope for the creative energy of man and ensures uninterrupted development of productive forces to the benefit of mankind."

The socialist system has brought into being a new type of international political and economic relations among states based on genuine equality and fraternal mutual assistance. Practical experience has shown that broad cooperation and specialization, and continued development of the international socialist division of labour contribute to the optimal economic development of each country. There was a long period in the history of the USSR when, owing to a number of adverse conditions, it was compelled to build up its industry by relying on its own resources; this could not but hamper economic development. This can be obviated in present-day conditions when the possibilities of each country are complemented and multiplied by mutually beneficial cooperation with other socialist states. The socialist countries differ in their level of economic development, national traditions, etc., which, naturally, makes itself felt in the process of establishing a new pattern of international ties; nevertheless, relations between them are continuously developing, opening up broader opportunities for the advancement of each socialist country and of the world socialist system as a whole.

It is not surprising, therefore, that one of the principal objectives of imperialist policy is to undermine and weaken the socialist system. In their efforts to weaken the socialist community by sowing division within its ranks, the imperialists are resorting to every possible means—

from a "differentiated" approach in international trade to propagandist exaggeration of national, cultural and other distinctions. Essentially, this is tantamount to attempts to apply in a slightly modified form the old "divide and rule" principle of imperialist policy. And this is only natural, for what the imperialists fear most of all is effective and dynamic unity of the great socialist community, because such unity immeasurably increases the revolutionary forces. Of particular importance in this connection is the policy of the ruling Marxist-Leninist Parties, their ability dialectically to combine the national interests of each individual country with the interests of the entire socialist system and the world communist movement.

As the socialist countries advance along the road of communist construction, their influence on world development steadily increases. The building of socialism in the Soviet Union considerably accelerated the revolutionary development in other countries. The transition of ever new peoples from capitalism to socialism and communism still further increases the attractive power of the socialist ideals.

It would be wrong to regard socialist society as something ossified and immutable. Its development, which is marked by the gradual transition to communism, presupposes continuous improvement of the whole system of socialist relations, and above all, production relations; it presupposes greater efficiency in production and the most effective use of the advantages latent in socialist economy. The economic reforms now being effected in the Soviet Union, Poland, Cze-

choslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria are aimed at the achievement of these goals. A more effective system of industrial management, economic planning and material incentives strengthens socialism's positions in its competition with capitalism, thereby contributing to the further extension and deepening of the world revolutionary process. It should be emphasized that the significance of these reforms is not limited to the economic sphere—it presupposes an improvement in scientific methods of social leadership and the development of socialist democracy.

The Soviet Union has now adopted a new five-year plan which will mark an important stage in establishing the material and technical base of communism and achieving a further substantial rise in the standard of living. The Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union do not regard it merely as a new contribution to the building of communism in their country. Fulfilment of the five-year plan will be of great international importance. Such factors as the Soviet Union's growing economic potential and greater efficiency in socialist production, improvement of the living standard, the development of socialist democracy and successes of the Soviet national policy will increase the magnetic force of socialist ideas; they will promote a further shift in the balance of class forces in the world in favour of socialism, the strengthening of all contemporary revolutionary forces and consolidation of their unity. Fulfilment of the five-year plan will furnish fresh

proof of the fact that the Soviet people are discharging their internationalist duty to the fraternal socialist countries, the international proletariat and the world liberation movement.

Only by developing the national economy to the utmost is it possible to satisfy the people's rising material and spiritual requirements, thereby demonstrating anew socialism's advantages over capitalism and *the force of the socialist example*. Embodied in the devoted labour effort of hundreds of millions of people, the socialist ideals are exerting a revolutionizing influence on mankind.

The world socialist system is the chief barrier to imperialism's aggressive policy. In these conditions it is the internationalist duty of the socialist states to build up armed forces equipped with the most up-to-date weapons and keep them in a state of combat readiness, and this cannot be done without a developed economy. The fundamental change in the balance of world forces was brought about by the creation of a powerful industry. The economic and social progress of the socialist countries is an indispensable condition for the development of the entire world revolutionary process.

THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT

● The national-liberation movement is an essential factor of the contemporary world revolutionary process. "...The socialist revolution," Lenin wrote, "will not be solely, or chiefly, a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in

each country against their bourgeoisie—no, it will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries against international imperialism.”¹ Experience has shown that the role of the young independent states in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the entire process of world development steadily increases.

During the two postwar decades more than 50 Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries achieved independence through persevering and heroic struggle. Whereas in 1938 colonial possessions had a combined area of 42.2 million sq. km with a population of 660.4 million, by 1964 the area had been reduced to 9.3 million sq. km and the population to 45.8 million.

Of course, colonialism in its old form has not yet completely disappeared. The imperialists have not abandoned the methods of non-economic compulsion which enabled them to keep hundreds of millions of people in slavery for many decades. The peoples of Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and other countries are still carrying on an armed struggle for independence. The imperialists do not even stop at direct armed violence in order to prevent the emergent nations from freely choosing their path of social development. America's aggressive war in Vietnam and her intervention in the Dominican Republic clearly show that even in present-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *On the International Working-Class and Communist Movement*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961, p. 299.

day conditions the imperialists still cling to their "big stick" policy. And yet in the overwhelming majority of one-time colonies and semi-colonies imperialism no longer holds undivided sway. The colonial system has broken up. A social change of vast historical importance has taken place in the lives of hundreds of millions of people.

The break-up of the colonial system is an event of truly epoch-making significance. It has graphically confirmed socialism's growing influence on the development of mankind. The elimination of capitalism's monopoly position in world economy and politics has been of immense importance for the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial nations for their liberation. In the course of this struggle the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have rendered all-round economic and military assistance to the national-liberation movement.

An important feature of the present stage of the world revolutionary process is that dozens of the newly free countries have *politically* broken away from the imperialist system but *economically* continue to remain within its orbit. Politically, they appear as entities in international relations, while continuing to remain "tributaries" of imperialism economically. Having created political prerequisites for subsequent social development, they continue to fight for the creation of the material and technical conditions required for this development, for economic independence in the system of world economy. This contradiction between the political and economic position of developing countries in the system of

international relations is so essential that, unless it is taken into account, it would be difficult to understand any major problem of the so-called third world.

The anti-imperialist character of the national-liberation movement at the present stage is manifested above all in the sphere of world politics. Most of the newly liberated states have rejected the imperialist policy of the former metropolitan countries and chosen an independent course in international relations, based on the principle of non-alignment with either of the mutually opposed blocs. This principle is dictated by the desire of the young sovereign states to assert themselves in world affairs as genuinely independent political entities in international relations. However, non-alignment, as a rule, does not mean a similar attitude to the imperialist and anti-imperialist forces, but is largely directed against the imperialist policy of drawing the young states into aggressive blocs. This line in foreign policy tends to weaken imperialism's political influence.

The emergence of the young independent states in the world arena has substantially altered the whole pattern of relations between countries. The Soviet Union and other socialist states have shown a proper understanding of the international interests of the emergent states and have rendered them extensive political support. In their turn, the young states approach a number of cardinal international problems from positions similar to or closely approximating those of the socialist countries. It is also important to bear in mind that the breakdown of the colonial

system considerably hampers the use of the natural resources and territory of the emergent countries for the aggressive imperialist policy spearheaded against the world socialist system. Many developing countries are resolutely opposed to the establishment of imperialist military bases on their territory and wholeheartedly support the proposals to proclaim Asia, Africa and Latin America nuclear-free zones.

Their own political experience shows the emergent nations how vital to them is solidarity and unity of action of the anti-imperialist forces. And this unity is being forged in the struggle against colonialism. At the close of 1965 and the beginning of 1966 a number of African states came out jointly against the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia. In reply to the Smith racist government's unilateral declaration of "independence," which actually constituted an attempt to legalize the enslaved position of the indigenous population, many African states decided to boycott the government of Southern Rhodesia; they also broke off diplomatic relations with Britain in protest against the British ruling circles' actual encouragement of and connivance at the racials' actions. An important contribution to the closer unity of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries was made by the Tricontinental Solidarity Conference in Havana.

The present stage of the world revolutionary process is also marked by the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the newly independent states in the economic sphere. Despite its importance, political independence does

not solve all the problems facing the developing countries. There can be no question of them completely eliminating colonialism unless they build up their national economies and put an end to their subordinate position in the world economic system. That explains why most of the emergent states actively oppose imperialist exploitation. In some cases this is manifested in direct nationalization of the property belonging to foreign monopolies, in others—in revising unequal agreements with them, increasing taxes, instituting higher customs duties, etc.

The world socialist system is the young states' dependable ally in their struggle against neocolonialism for economic independence. In conditions when imperialism's economic monopoly has been broken, the developing countries are in a position to manoeuvre, which lessens their economic dependence on the metropolitan countries. The establishment of economic relations with the socialist countries could not but influence the imperialists' policy.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are rendering technical, economic, scientific, cultural and other assistance to the emergent nations, helping the latter to build industrial enterprises, transport facilities, power plants and other projects. The socialist countries' credits to the young states play an important part in building up their independent economies. It should be stressed that these credits are granted on terms far more favourable than those offered by the capitalist countries; this is something the latter must take into account in their financial policy.

The contemporary world revolutionary process also embraces the developing nations' struggle for social transformations, for choosing the path of their future development. It will be recalled that the founders of Marxism-Leninism held that in certain conditions the backward countries could by-pass the capitalist stage. In the 1870's Marx did not rule out the possibility of realizing the principles of peasant socialism in Russia on condition that it formed an alliance with the victorious proletarian revolution in the West. "...With the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries," Lenin stressed in the early Soviet years, "backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage;" in certain conditions "it will be a mistake to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development."¹ The correctness of this conclusion has been fully confirmed by the example of the Mongolian People's Republic and a number of Soviet Republics. With the formation of the world socialist system the international conditions for the non-capitalist path of development became still more favourable. Other important contributing factors are that capitalism has badly compromised itself in the eyes of the peoples, that the ruling bourgeoisie have fully revealed their reactionary nature in a number of countries, and

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244.

that the magnetic power of socialism is growing all over the world.

It cannot be denied, of course, that the transition of the newly liberated countries to the non-capitalist path of development is an extremely complex problem. It necessitates the establishment in a brief historical period of an industrial structure which it took capitalism many centuries to build; it involves a radical reorganization of the whole system of social relations, often enough in defiance of long-established customs and traditions, and overcoming the resistance of world imperialism which still retains powerful levers for exerting political and economic pressure. All this requires a flexible home and foreign policy, the active participation of the masses and able leadership by the revolutionary vanguard.

Of the utmost importance in the struggle over the choice of path is the experience of the countries that have already embarked on a non-capitalist way of development (the UAR, Algeria, Burma and others). In many liberated countries socialist ideas are often championed by the revolutionary-democratic forces, intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie, radical and patriotically-minded officers and civil servants; such elements do not always fight consistently for the implementation of social reforms, especially when they are isolated from other revolutionary forces of society, notably those from the working class. Social reforms are sometimes effected without adequate preparation, which threatens to discredit them. Nevertheless, socialism is becoming increasingly popular in the newly free countries.

The significance of the numerous doctrines purporting to combine the socialist ideal with national ideological (in most cases religious) traditions and adapt it to the interests of diverse social strata, primarily the peasantry, must not be underestimated, since many of these forms of socialism have already demonstrated their progressive character in the process of transition to the non-capitalist path of development. Nor can the possibility be precluded that the gradual evolution of the social structure of the developing countries and the formation there of a modern industrial proletariat will be accompanied by the further development of the concepts of socialism. This possibility will be made a reality by the very development of the class struggle on a national and international scale.

WORKING-CLASS STRUGGLE

● Of paramount importance among the factors of the contemporary world revolutionary process is the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries, particularly those that are well developed. The scope of the proletarian class struggle is the best refutation of latter-day bourgeois and reformist theories of the alleged "weakening" of the class struggle and the "integration" of the proletariat in modern capitalist society. The rapid development of the labour movement also knocks the bottom out of spurious assertions that the working class is being "bourgeoisified."

By the 1960's the number of workers and office personnel in the developed capitalist coun-

tries had reached 200 million, or about 70 per cent of the gainfully employed population. The contemporary working class has established a ramified system of professional and political class organizations, on which it is able to rely in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. Its militant vanguard is the Communist and Workers' Parties. The proletariat of these countries constitutes the oldest detachment of the world revolutionary movement, possessing as it does extensive experience and militant revolutionary traditions.

The working class of the developed capitalist countries is directly opposed by the monopoly bourgeoisie, which has a long record of fighting the labour movement, penetrating into its organizations and influencing them from within. All the advantages of its economic and political power—from the army and police to the press, radio and television—are used to suppress or neutralize working-class actions.

The progress of the labour movement in the developed capitalist countries is seriously hampered by the continuing division of the working class. Side by side with Communists, there exist and operate the Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties, the majority of which adhere to reformist positions. It should also be borne in mind that a sizable proportion of the workers, especially in the USA, are still influenced by bourgeois ideology and support the bourgeois parties.

The character of the labour movement and the level of its demands are definitely influenced by the fact that, owing to their high econo-

mic level, the developed capitalist countries have broad possibilities of utilizing the results of the modern scientific and technical revolution to increase labour productivity. The new means of labour based on the wide application of automatic devices, electronic computers, etc., imperatively require qualitative changes in the organization, intensity and skill of living labour, which considerably increase the cost of manpower. Thus, in present-day conditions the requirements of the working class have grown substantially; at the same time it enjoys new opportunities to achieve the satisfaction of its demands. The most important factor facilitating the working-class struggle is the existence of the world socialist system, whose every fresh achievement in economic, cultural and scientific development, and in the further extension of socialist democracy exerts a revolutionizing influence on the working people's mode of thinking and character of actions, and alters the balance of class forces in the capitalist world.

But the possibility can be turned into reality only through the stubborn and multiform struggle of the working class against the domination of monopoly capital. It was through many years of persevering struggle that the working class of developed capitalist countries was able to achieve a certain increase in wages, shorter working hours, paid holidays, social security and other gains. And yet the material conditions of a sizable section of the working class are still very hard. This is graphically illustrated, among other things, by the Triple Revolution Manifesto issued by a special committee made up of

many prominent US scholars and public leaders. To the official number of unemployed estimated at 5.5 per cent of the national labour force, the Manifesto says, should be added another 4 per cent of job-seekers who in 1962 had to subsist only on chance earnings. There is every reason to believe, it adds, that the number of people anxious to get work but unable to find it now exceeds 8 million, which is double the figure indicated by official statistics. On the basis of these and other facts the authors of the Manifesto drew the conclusion that a stable social abyss is taking shape in the USA: about 38 million Americans—almost one-fifth of the population—still continue to live in poverty.

One of the main trends of working-class activity in the developed capitalist countries remains the economic struggle, the focal point of which is the demand for better conditions of selling labour power. The strike remains the proletariat's chief and most effective weapon in this struggle. The scope of the strike movement has particularly grown in the postwar period, with office employees more frequently resorting to this traditional weapon of the proletariat. Approximately 260,000 strikes involving about 237 million people were registered in the developed capitalist countries between 1946 and 1964. In 1964 alone over 47 million man-days, 22.9 million of them being accounted for by the USA, were lost as a result of strikes involving more than 10 million workers.

The working class demands higher pay and a guaranteed minimum wage, equal pay for women and young workers, a shorter workweek,

guarantees against unemployment, improved social insurance and security, etc. The growing scale of automation in the developed capitalist countries, notably the USA, gives added urgency to the demands for cessation of mass layoffs, provision of new jobs, broader possibilities for retraining without loss in pay.

A distinctive feature of the present phase of the labour movement in these countries is the combination of economic and political struggle. The workers' demands for restricting the omnipotence of the monopolies, extending the participation of trade unions in the settlement of questions connected with hire and dismissals and instituting democratic control over production are becoming more insistent. The trade unions, the Communist Parties and the Left wing of the social-democratic movement are working most actively for the satisfaction of these demands. In present-day conditions the working class is concentrating attention on such questions as ensuring full employment, utilizing scientific and technical achievements in working people's interests and distributing the national income. The experience gained by the labour movement effectively refutes the patently erroneous view (fairly widespread in the past) that as long as the capitalist system prevails the working class must refrain from interfering in industrial management. The struggle to change the economic structure of society, to give the workers a share in the management of production, is regarded by the Communist Parties as a component of the struggle for socialism.

As to the forms of transition to socialism,

many Communist Parties in the developed capitalist countries believe that a number of internal and international factors provide more favourable opportunities for a peaceful development of the revolution, which would best accord with the interests of the popular masses. At the same time the Communists stress that, contrary to the social-reformists' assertions, the peaceful path does not imply renunciation of the class struggle and shifting the centre of gravity to activity in parliaments, municipalities and other bourgeois representative organs. On the contrary, it presupposes further development of the class struggle, and closer unity of action of the working class and all working people, as well as the establishment of a powerful anti-monopoly coalition ensuring a preponderance of forces sufficient for winning state power without civil war. However, the possibility of a non-peaceful way is not ruled out, for the degree of bitterness of the class struggle and the forms it takes depend not so much on the proletariat as on the strength of the resistance offered by the ruling elements. But whatever the path of revolutionary development in a country, it necessarily presupposes active participation of the masses, their resolute struggle against the economic and political power of the monopolies.

An important aspect of labourers' political actions in the developed capitalist countries is the struggle against the arms drive and imperialist aggression, the fight to preserve peace and avert a world thermonuclear war. The significance of this struggle is enhanced by the fact that it is unfolding in the countries which are

the mainstay of the imperialist war blocs. The peace movement is widely supported by the working people in all parts of the world; it takes the form of mass meetings, demonstrations and peace marches in Italy, France, Britain, West Germany, Japan and other countries involving hundreds of thousands of people of widely differing political and religious views. They demand non-proliferation and prohibition of nuclear weapons, the establishment of denuclearized zones, and general and complete disarmament. World public opinion resolutely condemns the aggressive policy of US imperialism, particularly its dirty war in Vietnam. The peace-loving forces demand immediate cessation of American aggression and come out in defence of the Vietnamese people's sovereign rights. The past few years have witnessed a mounting struggle in the developed capitalist countries against reactionary trends in home and foreign policy. In the USA, the fight for Negro civil rights has assumed unprecedented dimensions.

Of course, these and many other democratic movements are not aimed at achieving immediate socialist aims, but the democratic struggle objectively tends to increase the progressive influence of the masses on the internal and external policy of the capitalist states. The development of the class struggle is accompanied by profound changes in the consciousness of all working people; general democratic movements are closely associated with the struggle for the social reorganization of society, for altering its economic and political structure. The masses are learning from their own experience that capita-

lism is irreconcilably opposed to their vital interests, that it is incompatible with genuine democracy. Lenin said in this connection: "To develop democracy *to the utmost*, to find the *forms* for this development, to test them *by practice*, and so forth—all this is one of the component tasks of the struggle for the social revolution. Taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be 'taken separately;' it will be 'taken together' with other things, it will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate its transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on."¹

The struggle waged by the working class and all working people against the economic and political omnipotence of the monopolies, for peace and profound democratic reforms, for changing the balance of forces in favour of the working class, is the main trend of the revolutionary process in the developed capitalist countries at the present stage. General democratic struggles against the monopolies do not delay the socialist revolution but bring it nearer. *The struggle for democracy is a component of the struggle for socialism.* In the course of this struggle, right-socialist, reformist illusions are dispelled and a political army of the socialist revolution is brought into being.

Overcoming sectarian mistakes of the past, the Communist Parties are tirelessly working

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 452-53.

to achieve united action by all contingents of the working class; it is their primary objective to achieve unity of the Left forces, and to form broad anti-monopoly alliances. Recent years have been marked by definite progress in this respect. The prospect of achieving united action by trade unions and political parties of the working class is becoming more realistic. This strategy contributes to the leftward shift of the masses, as has been graphically demonstrated in recent years by parliamentary and municipal elections in Britain, the Netherlands, Greece, Italy, Luxemburg, Finland, France, Sweden and other countries. At the same time there are quite a few obstacles on the road to unity, which consist not only in the lag of class consciousness and insufficient organization of a considerable section of the working people but also in the splitting and anti-communist policies pursued by the Social-Democrat right wing and the reformist trade unions.

The road to the socialist revolution is anything but easy, for the struggle has to be fought in the very citadel of capitalism, against the powerful and well-organized political and ideological apparatus of the class enemy. But only along this path is it possible for the labour movement to achieve decisive successes in the countries of developed capitalism.

● The world revolutionary process is not something that is being forcibly imposed on history by the Communists, as bourgeois ideol-

ogists assert. The need for a radical reconstruction of the entire system of capitalist social relations, above all ownership relations, follows from the very development of productive forces, particularly at their qualitatively new stage attained as a result of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution.

State-monopoly capitalism has, to a certain extent, widened the bourgeoisie's possibilities in the class struggle on a national and international scale, its possibilities to influence various aspects of social life, but, contrary to the reformists' allegations, it has not cured the ills of the capitalist economy or changed the nature of capitalism. If anything, state-monopoly capitalism has further aggravated the conflict between the social character of production and the concentration of ownership of the means of production in the hands of ever narrower monopoly groups. "The state," French economist Jean-Pierre Delilez writes, "has ceased to be only a political, military, police, etc., machine; it has become an important instrument of economic policy and as such combines to some extent political and economic functions. This combination of functions, to be observed in varying degree in different countries, produces two contradictory phenomena: on the one hand, the monopolies are in a position to make the entire machinery of state operate in their interests and, on the other, to the extent that privately-owned means of production become state-owned in the key industries, the capitalist system as such becomes more vulnerable, depending as it now does

wholly on possible changes in the character of the state system. In this sense we can say that socialism is already knocking at the door of monopoly capitalism.”¹

The establishment of inter-state capitalist associations like the Common Market or the European Free Trade Association does not smooth over but, on the contrary, aggravates contradictions between countries and between individual monopoly groups and sectors of the economy. The capitalist forms of internationalizing economic life reflect the further socialization of production, which makes its development incompatible with the imperialist integument.

The Marxists look on the prospects of world development with optimism. The world has changed substantially in the past half century and the basic social direction of these changes leaves no doubt that the mode of production founded on the exploitation of man by man is departing from the scene. The anti-imperialist struggle waged by the world socialist system, the revolutionary forces of the national-liberation movement and the international working class will inevitably lead to the triumph of socialism throughout the world.

Though revolutionary optimism rests on a firm foundation, it would be a profound mistake to underestimate the strength of capitalism in the struggle for its very existence. Lenin

¹ *World Marxist Review*, No. 11, 1965, p. 21.

repeatedly emphasized the need for a serious attitude to the class enemy. "Since the proletarian revolution in Russia and its victories on an international scale, expected neither by the bourgeoisie nor the philistines," he wrote in 1920, "the entire world has become different, and the bourgeoisie everywhere has become different too. It is terrified of 'Bolshevism,' exasperated by it almost to the point of frenzy, and for that very reason it is, on the one hand, precipitating the progress of events and, on the other, concentrating on the forcible suppression of Bolshevism, thereby weakening its own position in a number of other fields. In their tactics the Communists in all the advanced countries must take both these circumstances into account."¹

Now, almost half a century since these words were written, the bourgeoisie's hatred of communism has grown more intense. Its ideology and policy are imbued with rabid anti-communism. Imperialism is doing its utmost to alter the balance of world forces in its favour. At the same time experienced bourgeois politicians have drawn definite conclusions from the successful development of socialism and its steadily growing power of attraction throughout the world. Side by side with forcible suppression of the peoples' liberation movement, the imperialist bourgeoisie resorts to more refined methods in its class struggle.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 100.

At the same time the growing scale of the world revolutionary process at the present stage introduces new features into it and gives rise to new difficulties connected above all with the complexity of the task of building a new, socialist society, with the division of the labour movement, with the social and economic level of most of the young sovereign states. These difficulties lay a definite imprint on individual contingents of the communist movement.

During the past few decades the Communist Parties in a number of countries have increased their membership predominantly at the expense of the multi-million peasant masses of yesterday's colonies and semi-colonies, who are still strongly influenced by different forms of non-proletarian ideology, by deeply ingrained habits and traditions largely engendered by pre-capitalist modes of production. This is the objective cause of the differences that have arisen in the communist movement in recent years. The existence of differing views and opinions in the communist movement cannot be regarded as something unnatural; a dissimilar approach to propositions of Marxist-Leninist theory and policies is determined by the differentiation of the movement, by the different positions, experience, concrete tasks and traditions of the individual parties. The communist movement has already accumulated positive experience in adjusting such differences within its ranks. But this inevitably gives rise to ideological struggle against those concepts which run counter to the aims of the

movement, for practical experience shows that the aim in general is not indifferent to the means by which it is achieved and which lay a definite, sometimes decisive, imprint on it.

The objective conditions prevailing at present are quite favourable for the further development of the world revolutionary process. This greatly enhances the significance of subjective factors—the degree of participation of the masses, the organization and correct tactics of the vanguard, the mobilization of all possibilities by every one of the main contingents of the revolutionary process, and their unity in the common struggle against imperialism.

Disintegration of Colonial System and Developing Countries' Problems

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM'S DISINTEGRATION

● The colonial system's disintegration, a stormy revolutionary process, has a history of only 25 years. At the time of World War II, this shameful system of oppression and exploitation of the majority of nations stood almost intact.

True, the national and social emancipation of tsarist Russia's colonial outliers, the Mongolian people's assertion of the right to shape their own destinies, the collapse of imperialist schemes against Turkey, Afghanistan and Iran and widespread ferment in the oppressed countries, all signified that the colonial system was suffering fatal malady—a malady which

gripped it after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

And yet in 1939 over two-thirds of humanity were still in shackles. A large part of Asia, practically the whole of Africa and a good portion of Latin America were under colonial or semi-colonial yoke.

British jingoes could still boast that the sun never set on the British Empire. The territory of that prison of nations over the five continents exceeded 14 million sq. km. and the population 450 million, a quarter of the earth's population. The French Empire embraced almost 12 million sq. km. with a population of 70 million. The United States bossed 1.85 million sq. km. and 15.7 million people; Japan, 298,000 sq. km. and over 30 million, and Belgium, 2.4 million sq. km. and 14.5 million people.

Our young contemporary can hardly imagine the world at the time when there were only 12 independent Afro-Asian states. On the map there was neither Guinea, Mali, Kenya, Tanzania nor Democratic Republic of Vietnam; instead, there stood in all colonial panoply French West Africa, British East Africa and French Indochina. The rulers of these empires could not imagine that decline of the colonial system was in the offing. During World War II Winston Churchill and other leaders of colonialism categorically rejected any possibility of losing imperial possessions.

History, however, had its way. The colonial empires began to crumble during the war, and soon this process gained strength like a forest

fire. During only 12 postwar years 17 countries in Asia (almost the entire enslaved part of the continent) cast off the colonial yoke. In the next 10 years the centre of the liberation struggle shifted to Africa, where 34 countries acquired sovereignty between 1956 and 1965. Then the flames reached over to the Western Hemisphere. Cuba was the first country of the Americas to win independence and take the road of socialism. The colonialists' flags were also lowered in three Central American countries and one European. Over one-and-a-half thousand million—more than nine-tenths of the enslaved countries' population—freed themselves from colonial or semi-colonial bondage. This was the result of both the abolition of colonial regimes and radical changes in the position of dependent countries under the impact of the colonial system's disintegration and the appearance of the world commonwealth of socialist nations.

It took 350 years to build the British Empire, but only two decades were needed to reduce it to ruins. Britain has lost 96.8 per cent of colonial subjects and almost 87 per cent of colonial territory. France had lost, by January 1, 1966, 98.8 per cent of the territory and 98 per cent of the population of her empire; the Netherlands 93 and 94.4 per cent respectively and the USA 99 and 82.9 per cent. As for Belgium, Japan and Italy, they were deprived of their colonial possessions altogether.

Talking of reasons for such swift disintegration of the imperialist colonial system, one should bear in mind that the people in the

colonial countries never submitted to the brutal oppression forced on them. Meekness of "the natives" existed only in low-brow colonialist novels and pseudo-scientific racial concepts. Popular uprisings were shattering the pillars of colonialism. But the forces were unequal and patriots were continually suppressed.

The situation has changed in our time. Necessary *international* and *internal* requisites emerged for successful anti-colonial struggle.

First, the might and authority of the socialist world have immeasurably grown. The Soviet Union, a country of victorious socialism that ensured dozens of nations' deliverance from both social and national oppression, played the decisive role in the military defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism. The socialist revolution spread beyond the boundaries of two states and the world system of socialism came into being; it has become the mighty bastion of the national-liberation movement of the peoples. The prestige of the ideas of socialism, national freedom and equality has risen immensely. The socialist commonwealth has not only rendered direct support to the national-liberation movement, but, by its very existence, it has contained the main forces of imperialism, including its war machine. The forces of socialism and national liberation have become more closely united on a world scale.

Second, imperialism has suffered serious material, ideological and political defeat. The last war ended with the rout of its most aggressive detachments and weakening of the majority of the victor-countries. The general

crisis of capitalism deepened due to the emergence of the world socialist system. The military conflict between the imperialist powers, which was also developing in the colonies and semi-colonies, shattered the whole system of colonial domination. It dealt a powerful blow to the potency of the "lash" on which the colonialists based their rule. Then, the destruction of hitlerism, that most rabid champion of chauvinist and racial ideology, undermined the prestige of bourgeois ideology as a whole.

Third, the anti-colonial movement acquired a tremendous scope. This movement was characterized by sharp aggravation of contradictions between the imperialist powers and oppressed nations and a crisis of the colonial economy brought about by the conflict between the development of the productive forces, which required national independence, and the rule of foreign monopolies based on feudal survivals and preserving backwardness and stagnation.

Efforts of many peoples inhabiting the oppressed countries became more uniform in the struggle against imperialism. In China, Korea, Vietnam, Malaya and the Philippines national-liberation armies were formed, with active participation or under direct leadership of Communists, who were heroically fighting the Japanese invaders and their puppets. Anti-Japanese armed forces were set up in a number of other Asian countries. The Western Powers' attempts to restore or retain their rule after the defeat of the Japanese invaders led to a new upsurge of popular resistance.

Fourth, leading detachments of the working class in the capitalist countries have intensified class battles against imperialism within its very fortresses. They came out resolutely against the imperialist colonial policy and organized a mass movement of solidarity with fighters for national emancipation.

Fifth, the ties between the national-liberation movement in different countries and solidarity of the peoples fighting imperialism and colonialism have strengthened. The contemporary national-liberation revolutions are no longer separate, spontaneous actions, but mighty revolutionary movements that have gripped three continents and established direct connections between themselves on the basis of common interests.

The international situation strongly influences the contemporary national-liberation revolutions. Without due account of this factor it would be difficult, if not impossible, to explain the emergence in a number of countries of the anti-imperialist movement with a broad platform of national liberation even *prior to the formation of the traditional class requisites* (there being practically no proletariat and local bourgeoisie and very few representatives of national intelligentsia, pre-feudal relations dominating over the majority of peasantry).

Without appreciating the significance of interdependence of contemporary revolutionary movements, it is impossible to understand the causes of the national-liberation movement's triumph over imperialism. As a rule, colonialists retain their military superiority over freed-

om-fighters. But the existence of the socialist system has paralysed the imperialist powers' interference. Lenin had this in mind when he spoke about a *specially* favourable combination of the international conditions for the success of national wars.

International factors have also greatly influenced the forms of national-liberation revolutions. Contrary to their mendacious propaganda, the colonialists have never by their own accord granted independence to any oppressed nation. The peoples of North Vietnam, Algeria, Indonesia and other countries had to rise, arms in hand, to win independence. An armed struggle for liberation is going on in South Vietnam, Angola, Portuguese Guinea, North Kalimantan and elsewhere. Nevertheless, in the new international situation and thanks to the support of the world socialist forces, about two-thirds of the former colonial countries could win political independence peacefully.

Social and ideological trends of the contemporary national-liberation movements are directly connected with the specific features of our epoch and with the relation of class forces in the world.

The winning of political independence by countries that formerly comprised imperialism's colonial and semi-colonial periphery is a *revolutionary turning point in the life of two-thirds of mankind*. The liberated peoples have acquired a powerful stimulus to develop their creative forces. New vistas of anti-imperialist struggle and economic and social progress have opened before them.

The former colonial and semi-colonial peoples have become independent participants in world history. Thus, the sphere of social progress is broadened considerably and more and more people are taking part in it. Revolutionary development is acquiring a world-wide character, bringing nearer the time when social progress becomes a matter of consciousness for all peoples without exception.

The collapse of the colonial system is a serious blow to imperialism, which has lost its capacity to hold sway in the political and economic life of dozens of countries. The imperialists had to withdraw their troops from almost 40 countries in Asia, Africa and Central America: these are no longer their strategic springboards.

The downfall of the system of colonial slavery under the pressure of the national-liberation movement is the second phenomenon, in its historic significance, after the creation of the world socialist system.

NEW STAGE OF NATIONAL-LIBERATION REVOLUTIONS

● Historic victories in the anti-imperialist struggle are indisputable. But they do not signify that the national-liberation revolutions have triumphed, and, as is claimed by imperialist propaganda, that colonialism has been done away with once and for all. It is trying to persuade patriotic forces to cease the struggle on the false contention that they are now fighting ghosts—"whipping a dead horse."

However, it is well known that about 40 million people are still languishing under the rule of colonialists and racialists in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Rhodesia, Portuguese Guinea and a number of other countries. And the main problem of the struggle there hinges on winning political independence and abolishing colonial regimes.

Moreover, even among nominally independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, quite a few remain both in economic and in political bondage. Here, too, complete political emancipation and destruction of power of the anti-popular, collaborationist forces—classical tasks of every national-liberation revolution—have not yet been achieved.

Finally, the national, anti-imperialist revolution is far from complete in an overwhelming majority of countries that have acquired political independence. It should always be borne in mind that not only political domination was typical of the colonial system, but also economic exploitation and ideological suppression. And if the colonial system as a *sum-total* of relations, with a certain form of political dependence being a necessary part of it, has crumbled, some *component parts* of this system still exist and all bonds of dependence have not yet been abolished.

International finance capital continues to exploit Asian, African and Latin American countries after they gain political independence, for they still remain within the system of the world capitalist economy. In many of these countries foreign monopolies control the most important

and most profitable branches of economy. Between 1950 and 1961 remittance of profit and interest from the developing countries amounted to 20,900 million dollars.

Colonial plunder and oppression retarded the enslaved countries for many decades and even centuries, and led to one-sided and monocultural specialization of their economies. The per capita industrial and agricultural production in the economically backward countries in 1961 amounted to just over 9 per cent of what it was in the industrial capitalist countries. Labour productivity in these countries' manufacturing industries was six times lower than in the advanced capitalist countries, while the per capita national income was dozens of times lower.

Agriculture in the former colonies and semi-colonies is in difficult straits due to low level of productive forces and outdated socio-economic relations. Many of these countries, despite the agrarian character of their economies, suffer from a chronic food deficit. According to the UN Food and Agricultural Organization the Latin American countries have to spend annually over 500 million dollars to buy food abroad. India's imports of grain more than trebled during the eight years from 1956 to 1963.

The gap between the levels of social labour productivity keeps an economically backward country in an inferior and exploited position in the system of the world capitalist economy. Monopolies aggravate this economic inequality by inflating prices of their own goods while beating down prices of liberated countries' export goods. The imperialists enjoy currency and tra-

de privileges, too. Numbers of Asian, African and Latin American countries now receive only four-fifths of the money they used to get for the same quantity of goods sold on the eve of World War II.

A certain role is being played here by depreciation of natural raw materials through growing production of synthetic materials and by increasing cost of equipment due to its becoming more complicated and with a greater mass of highly skilled labour materialized in it. Undoubtedly, the mechanism of the monopoly price system also exerts pernicious influence.

Economic dependence on imperialism not only limits to a certain extent the sovereignty of the former colonies and semi-colonies and keeps them exploited, but is also fraught with the danger of colonialist retaliation. This dependence serves as a basis for imperialist actions aimed at undermining independence.

That is why the problem of national liberation has in our time undergone serious changes. It now embraces a wider range of tasks. The contemporary national-liberation revolutions, as distinct from the past, *cannot be confined to the mere winning of political independence and creating national states*. Their aim is also *economic emancipation* of the former colonial and dependent countries in the interests of complete victory over colonialism and consolidation of political independence. The national-liberation revolution does not end with winning political independence. This independence will be precarious and even fictitious if the revolution does not lead to radical changes in socio-economic

life and to solution of pressing tasks of national renaissance.

As long as there exists economic dependence on imperialism there can be no talk of complete victory of national-liberation revolutions.

Social development never demands unattainable tasks. Due to the new world situation created by the emergence of the socialist system, the mighty upsurge of national-liberation and workers' movements and sharp aggravation of crisis phenomena within the imperialist system, there arose real opportunities for former colonies and semi-colonies to gain economic independence. The countries that won political independence occupy a special place in the world capitalist economy. And the factors responsible for this situation also make practicable the winning of economic independence. These countries are not a part of the imperialist system. Moreover, their independent economic and political development is of a profound anti-imperialist nature.

These countries are developing in a world where unrestrained domination of the imperialists in both world politics and economic relations has been abolished. The support and cooperation of the socialist system and, to a certain extent, cooperation among the young national states themselves free them from complete dependence on the world capitalist economy and enable them to resist the onslaught of monopolies. Therefore, in the liberated countries the national-liberation revolution is entering a new stage—that of *struggle for economic emancipation and consolidation on this basis of state in-*

dependence. Political independence becomes a prelude to and a means of liberation from imperialist exploitation.

PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION FROM IMPERIALISM

● Economic emancipation from imperialism means doing away with imperialist economic influence in the freed countries, winning economic independence and creating national economies. This means also abolition of backwardness and of one-sided agrarian raw material specialization of these countries' economies and promotion of productive forces. This finally means the training of national personnel capable of assuming responsibility and leadership in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life.

To attain these goals it is necessary to deprive foreign monopolies of key positions and turn them over to the public sector, the only economic body capable of opposing monopolies and effectively organizing the national economy; to solve agrarian questions in the peasants' interests; to free economic, political and cultural life from the shackles of feudal and pre-feudal relations; to start creating and developing national industry; to set up a ramified system of popular education; to take measures for raising the people's living standards; to democratize social life; to take a firm anti-imperialist position in international relations. These measures are bound to create a vast internal market necessary for advancing the national economy, to mobilize the activity and enthusiasm of the mas-

ses for national construction and ensure favourable international conditions for national progress.

This complex of radical socio-economic measures comprises the *general democratic programme* of the revolution at its new stage.

Questions arise as to *how* these problems should be settled and, *what direction* this settlement should take. Early in the 20th century, let alone in the last century, these questions could not have come up. By overthrowing foreign rule and realizing the right to independent state existence, the national-liberation revolutions were clearing the road to capitalism, being in essence a form of its establishment. Today there can be two ways of development: to *socialism* and to *capitalism*. The most important feature of the contemporary national-liberation revolutions is that they are democratic revolutions of a *new type*. In the course of their development, in the struggle for implementing the general democratic programme the direction of further advancement of the liberated countries is being determined.

Theoretically, the general democratic programme contains nothing that would go beyond the limits of capitalism. But the real state of affairs in the liberated countries is different. It would be a vulgarization to assert that even a partial solution of the revolution's tasks is impossible along the capitalist road, or that in countries of capitalist development positive results have not been scored. India, for example, was able to gain certain success in developing national industry on the basis of creating the

public sector, in training national personnel and in carrying out an independent foreign policy. The national bourgeois governments of other Asian and African countries obtained comparatively favourable credit terms from imperialist countries, enhanced their countries' share in profits from the exploitation of natural resources and barred foreign monopolies from some branches of their economies.

Certain measures are being carried out in agriculture aimed at abolishing the outmoded production relations. This is being done under the pressure of the peasants' movement and for the sake of independent economic development. In many liberated countries where bourgeois forces are in power, the most outrageous manifestations of political and social discrimination introduced by the colonialists are being eliminated.

At the same time the main part of the general democratic programme has not been put into practice. Imperialist monopolies still hold, and in a number of cases are strengthening, their positions in the freed countries. In Nigeria, for example, during the period between 1959 and 1963 direct foreign investments of private capital increased 1.5 times, reaching the figure of 218.4 million pound sterling. Liberia, pursuing an "open-door" policy with regard to foreign capital, had to spend 94 per cent of her annual revenue in 1963 to repay imperialist loans.

Extended cooperation between the national bourgeoisie and foreign capital tends to acquire an anti-national character and becomes a threat to independent economic development. Effec-

tiveness of the public sector is seriously hampered, for it is placed at the service of the selfish class interests of the bourgeoisie. A whole bureaucratic layer is formed around this sector using it for enrichment, as a means of primary accumulation.

The agrarian question is not solved in the peasants' interests. Landowners retain in their hands a considerable and sometimes the bigger part of arable land. Thus, in India in 1959-60, according to the national sample survey, 12 per cent of all lands were concentrated in holdings of over 50 acres each (1.1 per cent of all holdings), while 19.8 per cent of all holdings, less than one acre each, owned only 1.1 per cent of all land. Millions of jobless are forced to agree to any, even the most brutal, forms of exploitation and as before suffer from the extortions of usurers. At the same time peasants are being drawn into a new system of dependence, on rural bourgeoisie rising in power. About 10,000 African planters in Ivory Coast, or nine per cent of all landowners, each having no less than 25 acres of land and five farm labourers, have concentrated nearly 30 per cent of all arable land in their hands.

Bourgeois states are restricting democratic freedoms, obstructing the activities of progressive parties and organizations and resorting to police terror. But the popular masses who suffered the greatest losses for the sake of national emancipation and nevertheless were not delivered from exploitation and poverty decline to accept the existing situation.

It should be noted specially that in the coun-

tries where capitalism is being planted, rates of economic growth, never very high, have of late slowed down.

All this can be explained mainly by the fact that contemporary capitalism is no longer the capitalism of free competition, but the reign of imperialist monopolies. The liberated countries *are now opposed* by the system of international capitalist division of labour and exploitation by monopolies of the overwhelming majority of the world population. The mechanism of this system reproduces economic dependence of the former colonies and semi-colonies remaining in its orbit. This mechanism hampers accumulation in the liberated countries, retards development of productive forces and is directed to preserving these countries as the capitalist world's backward regions. At the same time capitalism cannot use in the freed countries such traditional means of primary accumulation as wars, contributions and, especially, colonial plunder. Capitalist development in these countries is also slowed down by colonial traits and feudal and semi-feudal relations in their economies.

It is indicative that the young states who have taken the capitalist path of development can use the fruits of the scientific and technical revolution but meagrely. On the one hand, there arises a possibility of using them to overhaul, in a short space of time, the advanced countries. On the other, new scientific and technical achievements require huge concentration of capital investments and well-trained personnel for their implementation. This leads in practice to the fruits of the scientific and technical

revolution being reaped mainly by the most developed capitalist countries.

Of immense significance is the fact that the capitalist path, a path of people's suffering, especially brutal in the former colonies and semi-colonies, cannot inspire the masses and channel their energy to transforming the old society. Moreover, the bourgeoisie has to force the working people to take this path. This is not an easy task, taking into account the political experience they acquired in many former colonies and semi-colonies during previous stages of the anti-imperialist struggle and a certain weakness of the state apparatus of the ruling classes, which is sometimes only in process of formation and training.

The narrowness and discrepancy in the objective basis for development of national capitalism is reflected in the stand and political behaviour of the national bourgeoisie. It is torn between imperialist striving to perpetuate the liberated countries' dependent and exploited position, and feudal and pre-feudal reaction's attempts to preserve old privileges, on the one hand, and the popular masses' demands for a radical change in their position and genuine independence, on the other hand. Hence the indecision, wavering, cowardice and divided attitudes of the bourgeoisie to the national-liberation revolution and the general democratic programme.

The bourgeoisie is trying to subvert revolutionary aims to its selfish class aims and turn the national general democratic programme into a means of establishment and consolidation of

capitalism. It is for this reason that bourgeois governments do not consistently implement this programme, although its aims are, to a certain extent, advantageous to the bourgeoisie. Resolute implementation of the general democratic programme, as has been demonstrated by the experience of the United Arab Republic, Burma and a number of other countries, by virtue of this policy's objective logic, pushes them beyond the boundaries of capitalism.

The inability of capitalism to serve as a reliable basis for translating into life the general democratic programme of the national-liberation revolution and for the national renaissance of the liberated countries is quite natural. Our epoch is one of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale, and, therefore, social processes going on in the liberated countries cannot be isolated from that transition. *The contemporary national-liberation revolutions, as an organic component of this world-wide process of transition to the new social structure, are of profound anti-capitalist character. Their historical mission is not to clear the ground for capitalist relations but to blaze the trail, in the course of the abolition of the political and economic rule of imperialism, to the socialist transformation of society.*

It is in this light that capitalist development of the former colonies and semi-colonies should be evaluated. It would be incorrect to examine this problem from the point of view of formal logic, contraposing capitalism to feudal and pre-feudal relations which it replaces. What is necessary is to study this issue with due account

of the general character of our epoch, and realize that in the present situation transition of former colonies and semi-colonies to capitalism means not only a break with the feudal and pre-feudal systems, but also a break with the tangible non-capitalist and socialist prospects.

However, it does not follow that capitalism has no more opportunities in the liberated countries. The anti-capitalist nature of the contemporary national-liberation revolutions exists and acts only in the form of a *trend*. This trend cannot get the upper hand by itself. Its victory is not predetermined, but depends wholly on the struggle between various class forces. It should always be borne in mind that capitalism possesses certain internal resources which it can place at its service. Even more important is the fact that today the possibilities of local capitalism cannot be assessed only within national boundaries; they largely depend on the policies pursued by capitalism as a whole. Imperialism is vitally interested in capitalist development of the former colonies and semi-colonies; therefore, it energetically supports this development.

It would be wrong to exclude the possibility of the national-liberation revolutions in some liberated countries petering out and, being stopped half-way, becoming a starting point of their capitalist development. Historical experience has shown that there exists such possibility, and imperialism is trying hard to translate it into life, to drive the national-liberation revolutions into an impasse of capitalism and thereby defeat them. Had imperialism in conjunction with reactionary forces achieved these aims, it

would have meant that a substantial—and perhaps decisive—part of national-liberation tasks would have been transferred to the socialist revolution.

At the same time the conclusion that capitalism is unable to become the basis of the national renaissance of the former colonies and semi-colonies is not only a theoretical one. The experience of newly independent countries that have taken the road of capitalist development testifies to a *crisis of the capitalist way*. Elements of political instability are growing in these countries, due to serious economic difficulties, deteriorating living standards of the masses, discontent with continuing penetration of imperialist monopolies and aggravation of national and tribal strife accompanying the reactionary-nationalist courses pursued by their governments. The ruling classes, as shown by events in the Sudan, Ivory Coast and some other countries, are looking for a way out in repressions against the democratic forces and in fanning anti-communist hysteria.

A crisis of the capitalist way in the former colonies and semi-colonies is vividly manifested in wide dissemination of socialist concepts in these countries. Naturally, these concepts are often nothing but sheer demagoguery of the reactionaries, or a camouflage for the attempts of the bourgeoisie to secure victory for capitalist relations. Still, the very fact that many governments of the liberated countries that support capitalism do not consider it possible openly to speak out in favour of the capitalist way testifies to its profound discredit in the eyes of the peoples

and of their growing attraction to socialism.

A convincing demonstration of the crisis of the capitalist way is the fact that Mali, the United Arab Republic and certain other countries have chosen progressive social development. Anti-capitalist tendencies manifested everywhere engender the necessity of implementing the general democratic programme.

PROSPECTS FOR NON-CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

● The alternative to capitalism is the non-capitalist path. In the present conditions the non-capitalist path is a *specific form of transition to socialism, with the support of the world socialist system, of the former colonies and semi-colonies where local capitalism is not developed or is weak, and where capitalist relations have not firmly taken root.*

The necessity of this form of social progress, and not "direct" socialist development, is determined by backwardness of productive forces and very weak social stratification in these countries, smallness in number or weakness of the proletariat, the bearer of socialist ideology, and great predominance of pre-capitalist forms of popular consciousness.

For transfer to the non-capitalist path and progress along it, of great importance are not only measures aimed at changing radically the existing property relations, stopping large-scale private capitalist accumulation and obstructing the formation of the bourgeois class, but also measures to create new productive forces and production relations and to change profoundly

the cultural life of society. The specific feature of the non-capitalist path lies above all in the fact that many prerequisites of socialism which used to appear spontaneously in the womb of capitalism are now created by special methods, consciously and purposefully, in the course of non-capitalist development. Modern productive forces in industry and agriculture are being created. *Economy becomes the major field of political battle and the success of the revolutionary forces is, to a considerable degree, determined by the ability to manage the economy.*

Of decisive significance in this case is a policy which contributes to an all-round upswing of productive forces, ensures key positions for the democratic state in the interests of independent and progressive development, gives a wide enough scope to the operations, under effective control, of the petty proprietor and the national industrialist and uses, if possible or necessary, foreign capital.

Successfully progressive development of the liberated countries is possible only if the methods used do not shatter the basis of the national anti-imperialist front and lead to an economic uplift and improvement in the working people's living standards. *A principal advantage of the non-capitalist path is that it accords with the vital interests of the broad masses.* Therefore, they support measures by the state power in countries that have taken the road of non-capitalist development, although difficult conditions of their life cannot be changed at once.

The triumph of non-capitalist development depends on whether the forces of democracy and

social progress can take state leadership of society in the course of the struggle for economic emancipation and consummation of the national-liberation revolution. Accession to power of revolutionary democrats in the United Arab Republic, Guinea, Mali and some other countries has brought about radical socio-economic transformations of the non-capitalist character, in keeping with the general democratic programme. Revolutionary democrats express the interests of the broad masses, above all peasants, patriotic intelligentsia and democratic circles of the army.

While doing away with remnants of imperialism's political domination revolutionary democrats have adopted the course aimed at abolishing foreign monopolies' rule in economic life and remodelling social relations. The attack on imperialist monopolies' positions was accompanied by measures countering the local bourgeoisie's attempts to use the ousting of foreign capital to strengthen their own positions.

In the United Arab Republic, for example, the state owns over 80 per cent of all means of production. All large and medium-scale industries, banks, insurance companies, foreign trade and railway, sea and air transport have been nationalized. The state has also taken over all wholesale trade and 30 per cent of retail trade. The property of foreign monopolies has been completely nationalized. From 1952 to 1963 the volume of industrial production more than trebled. According to official data the increase for 1963 alone amounted to 15 per cent. In Guinea the state has taken over foreign trade and, partially,

internal trade, finance, insurance, production of power, diamonds and gold, water supply, transport and communication.

Agrarian reforms are being carried out, and state and cooperative farms set up. In 1964 there were over 500 cooperative and state farms in Guinea; in Mali, by the middle of 1965, there were more than 5,500 cooperatives. The United Arab Republic has decided to set up state farms on the arable land which she will get after the completion of the Aswan project (about one-third of all cultivated land).

Progressive social and labour legislation is being introduced. The people are being drawn more actively into political and public life.

The states led by revolutionary democrats are pursuing an active anti-imperialist foreign policy. They support the oppressed peoples' liberation movement and rely on their friendship with the socialist states in the struggle against imperialism for independent and progressive development.

Among the factors that have contributed to these countries' transfer to the path of social progress is, first and foremost, *inability of the bourgeoisie firmly to head the national anti-imperialist revolution*. In Guinea and Mali the bourgeoisie were so weak that they could take neither leadership of the struggle against colonial regimes nor power in the national states formed later. In contrast to the majority of other Asian or African countries, where the struggle was led by the proletariat or bourgeoisie, here it was headed by revolutionary democrats. In Algeria and, especially, in Egypt the bourgeoisie,

though considerably stronger, could not attain even genuine political emancipation for their countries, let alone economic independence. In Burma the bourgeois leadership ensured national sovereignty, but proved unable to do away with foreign monopolies' economic domination and the old colonial structure of society.

Of great importance *was the necessity to paralyse the onslaught of imperialism from without, which exerted profound influence on the anti-imperialist struggle.*

In Algeria, for example, the people were forced to expel the French colonialists by force of arms and then repel their attempts to disorganize and ruin the country's economic and political life. Imperialism tried to force the independent Egyptian government to its knees both by military and political means (the Suez aggression) and by economic boycott (refusal to finance the Aswan construction and blockade of 1956-57). In Burma foreign monopolies tried to undermine the country's independent economic development by using their compradore agents. Against Guinea the imperialists applied harsh methods of economic and political pressure to punish her for her decision to withdraw from the French Union. These acts of the imperialists were answered by further evolution to the left of political leadership, in the direction of defence of national independence and liquidation of internal social support of imperialism.

The example and influence of world socialism and its all-round assistance have played a very important role. The support of Egypt by the Soviet Union and other socialist states during

armed aggression and economic blockade, assistance to the Algerian people in their war against the colonialists, aid to Guinea in resisting imperialist blackmail and other instances of steadfast support to the national-liberation movement—all this has enormously raised the prestige of world socialism.

Finally, these countries' transfer to radical social transformations would be impossible had not the revolutionary-democratic leadership of the masses gone over to *anti-capitalist positions*.

The leading role of revolutionary democrats in some liberated countries does not at all signify any diminution of the role and influence of the proletariat on social and national-liberation processes in the former colonies and semi-colonies.

First, the emergence of revolutionary democrats as a political force, their credo and ideological evolution cannot be separated from the conditions that have arisen due to the existence and activity of the communist movement both internationally and in these countries. *The efforts of Communists have largely contributed to revolutionary democrats' activities and their programme.* At present Communists are resolutely supporting revolutionary democrats, provided they are consistent patriots, sincerely striving for socialism and firmly defending the people's interests.

Second, the proletariat, where it existed, has played an active role in revolution in the countries led by national-democratic parties. Apart from that, historical tendency is for the proletariat's role to be constantly enhanced by virtue

of its numerical growth and its class character. Many revolutionary-democratic leaders are coming to realize and openly acknowledge the need to rely above all on the working class, which time and again demonstrates its fighting qualities and ability to fulfil its historic mission as vanguard and leader of the struggle for the triumph of the new social system.

And third, it is necessary to take into account the role of the world socialist system. The proletariat, due to the rise of the world socialist system, is now coming out as a force organized on a state level and on a world-wide scale, and capable of ensuring proletarian representation in countries where its national detachments have not been formed. The socialist system functions as the vanguard in the world revolutionary process on the material, ideological and political plane.

Naturally, vital successes of the national-liberation movement in the countries led by revolutionary democrats do not mean that these countries' further social advances will be smooth. Imperialism and local reactionaries have not abandoned their attempts to reverse the march of history and return these countries to the capitalist path. Non-capitalist development, like any other revolutionary process, is accompanied by class struggle. Reaction is trying to compromise the anti-capitalist measures of the state and prove that state intervention in economic life is ineffective. The reactionaries are using sabotage, profiteering, export of valuable goods and other means to cause economic difficulties and fan popular discontent. They are

trying to bribe whole sections of the state apparatus where there are enough of their stooges. Lastly, reaction does not stop at resorting to arms in the struggle for power.

In the Republic of Mali, for example, local bourgeois tradesmen have tried to overthrow revolutionary power. They organized street demonstrations under pro-imperialist slogans and with support from outside. In Guinea radical socio-economic measures of the Democratic Party encountered violent resistance on the part of some sections of the local bourgeoisie, tradesmen, profiteers and certain state officials. This aggravated the economic situation in the country. In the summer of 1965 a counter-revolutionary plot was uncovered in the United Arab Republic. Almost simultaneously the country again became the subject of imperialist blackmail.

The economic situation in the countries led by revolutionary democrats continues to be difficult. The process of transforming social relations, which is complicated by itself, is aggravated by the backwardness of productive forces, lack of skilled personnel, scarce sources of accumulation and sabotage and subversion on the part of internal reaction and imperialism. *Political, organizational and ideological factors connected with socio-economic backwardness and with an overwhelming predominance of non-proletarian, petty-bourgeois elements among the population cause great difficulties.*

The forces in power are socially heterogeneous, and this can cause certain vacillations. The state apparatus in the countries led by revo-

lutionary democrats sometimes becomes the arena of struggle between various class trends. Anti-communism and distrust of Communists by which some revolutionary democrats are infected are especially dangerous. In the present conditions it is impossible firmly to follow the path of social progress while clinging to anti-communism, let alone victimizing the Communists.

Taking all this into account, one should not think that in the countries led by revolutionary democrats there is no ground for social regression.

A resolute struggle against imperialism and internal reaction, unity of all forces loyal to socialism, all-round development of democracy and a more active role of the masses in state and public life—this is an earnest of further successful advance along the road of social progress.

● Back at the dawn of the Eastern peoples' political awakening, Lenin stressed time and again that the oppressed nations would make their contribution to the diversity of *forms* of democracy and *forms* of transition to socialism. At present the Asian, African and Latin American peoples are in the thick of battles against imperialism and internal reaction, blazing the trail to national and social emancipation.

The history-making activities of the millions of people in the countries with great multiformity of socio-economic conditions and national traditions and peculiarities lend original features to revolutionary processes now under way

in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These revolutions again confirm the correctness of the laws of social development and class struggle discovered by Marxism-Leninism.

**The Emergent Nations:
Certain Aspects
of Non-Capitalist
Development**

NEW TRENDS

● The world revolutionary forces are waging a tense struggle against imperialism on a broad front. The socialist states—the mainstay of the national-liberation struggle in all countries—are enhancing their economic and military might, and resolutely opposing the imperialist policy of aggression and provocation; they are contributing to the relaxation of international tension and creating more favourable conditions for the national-liberation movement by rendering it all-round fraternal assistance. The international working-class movement is intensifying its struggle against the monopolies, and delivering ever

more powerful blows to the most reactionary forces of imperialism, thereby undermining its positions from within. The national-liberation movement is consummating the destruction of the political forms of colonialist domination and extending its struggle against neocolonialism.

The majority of the formerly oppressed countries have already achieved national independence and are now confronted with new tasks which alter, to a certain extent, the very character of the national-liberation movement so far as they are concerned. The tasks of achieving economic independence and social liberation—radical improvement of national living standards, elimination of poverty, the working people's participation in the management of state affairs, etc.—are becoming increasingly urgent and pressing. And this, in turn, gives added importance to the question of which road of social and economic development the newly free countries are to take. A keen struggle is developing between diverse social forces around this decisive question.

An important factor contributing to the intensification of internal struggle is the new international situation, which for the first time in human history, offers the peoples a very real opportunity freely to choose the path of development that best accords with their needs. The world socialist system helps the young sovereign states to repel imperialist export of counter-revolution, renders them extensive political, economic and technical assistance and facilitates their struggle for the progressive path of development.

The growing internal struggle in the emergent countries consolidates the forces of the two opposite trends of development—the socialist and the capitalist. There is now every reason to assert that the national-liberation movement is helping to change the balance of world forces in favour of socialism not only because it is directed against imperialism but also because it is increasingly turning against capitalism as a social formation.

The national-liberation movement is developing precisely as was predicted by Lenin almost half a century ago. "It is perfectly clear," he wrote, "that in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect."¹

Lenin's idea on the unity of struggle against imperialism and capitalism, for national and social liberation, for socialism, is coming true in our time. This is a qualitatively new aspect in the development of the world socialist revolution, which appears when these two aims of struggle draw nearer and finally merge. Assessing the prospects of development for half a century ahead, Lenin predicted that in its new quality the national-liberation movement "will play a much more revolutionary part than we expect." And what did we expect at that time? Lenin

¹ V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482.

gave the following answer to this question: "...In spite of the fact that the masses of toilers—the peasants in the colonial countries—are still backward, they will play a very important revolutionary part in the coming phases of the world revolution." ¹

The mass of the toiling peasants in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are extremely backward, and initially fight for their national liberation, following the bourgeoisie in many countries but potentially remaining a force which gradually joins the struggle against capitalism, for "in the long run capitalism itself is educating and training the vast majority of the population of the globe for the struggle." And when this period arrives, it "cannot but lead to a crisis in the whole of world capitalism. . . , cannot but give rise to a world socialist revolution, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured." ²

The trend towards the national-liberation revolution developing into the socialist revolution can now be observed in a number of countries, with ever new peoples being gradually drawn into this process. What use is being made of these new possibilities in the developing countries?

Some of the countries, where both the objec-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482.

² V. I. Lenin, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 3, p. 841.

tive and subjective conditions are favourable for the development of the national-liberation, anti-imperialist revolution into the socialist revolution, have already adopted the socialist path in the process of struggle for political independence or following its achievement.

But there are also countries where the ruling classes have chosen the capitalist path of development and continue to follow it, relying on the support of the world capitalist system. The working people and progressive forces are excluded from political power and have not been able as yet to exert a decisive influence on the destinies of these countries. True, most of these countries are taking the path of *independent* development in an effort to retain and strengthen their state sovereignty by building up the national economy as the foundation of their home policy and by strictly adhering to the principle of non-alignment in their foreign policy. In some of countries, on the other hand, the ruling classes have closely associated themselves with the system of war blocs and pro-imperialist policies in international relations.

In a number of developing countries the ruling element consists of representatives of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces, who, while theoretically rejecting the capitalist path, have not yet made their final choice owing to indecision and wavering in applying socialist methods.

Lastly, a new trend has emerged and is steadily developing in the liberation movement of the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Guinea, Mali and Burma, which have firmly set foot on the

non-capitalist path and are undeviatingly following it with the assistance and support of the world socialist system and the international working-class movement. It is precisely this factor that constitutes a qualitatively new and important feature of the situation now obtaining in the so-called Third World.

A number of countries have made tangible progress along the non-capitalist path of development in recent years. There is every reason to believe that in the coming years certain Arab countries and, possibly, a number of other Afro-Asian states, will likewise decide in favour of the non-capitalist path. It can be confidently predicted that the countries now advancing to socialism along this path will be joined by ever new contingents of mankind, and this process is of epoch-making significance.

The first wave of national-liberation movements directly following the October Revolution confronted Lenin with the problem of evolving a general formula for unity of the international working-class and national-liberation movements in strategy and tactics and for the transition of the Eastern countries from the national-liberation to the socialist stage of the revolution. Needless to say, at that time Lenin was not in a position to elaborate in detail the concrete paths of development of the revolutionary process in Asia and Africa. Addressing the international communist movement, he said that "the subsequent revolutions in Oriental countries, which possess much vaster populations and a much vaster diversity of social conditions, will undoubtedly display even greater peculiarities

than the Russian revolution.”¹ And indeed, the present stage of national-liberation revolutions is marked by exceptional diversity in peculiar forms of development.

The transition of a number of countries to the non-capitalist path of development has confirmed the proposition concerning the existence of a rich variety of forms of transition to socialism, advanced by the 20th CPSU Congress and the 1957 and 1960 Meetings of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Of particular importance is the fact that this proposition has been accepted by the communist and national-democratic parties of the young sovereign states and made the basis of their programmes of struggle for socialism.

NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

● The process of drawing the non-proletarian and semi-proletarian working masses and the peasantry of the former colonial and semi-colonial world into the social struggle is based on the following essential objective factors:

F i r s t, capitalist development in the former colonial and semi-colonial countries, which led to the numerical growth of hired labour, differentiation of the peasantry, higher capitalist accumulation, greater poverty and destitution

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 3, p. 823.

of all the oppressed classes. The development of capitalism has failed to bring the peoples what they expected to achieve in the fight for national liberation. National capitalism and imperialism have greatly contributed to the ruination and proletarianization, to the "education" and "training" of the non-proletarian and semi-proletarian toiling masses in the former colonies. Local capitalism proved to be just as unacceptable as alien capitalism.

S e c o n d, further development and intensification of the class struggle in the emergent countries. In the process of strengthening their national independence the masses are becoming increasingly aware that a section of the bourgeoisie is even opposed to general democratic and anti-feudal measures and has no intention of carrying the struggle for the consolidation of national independence to the end. Consequently national and general democratic aims cannot be achieved without carrying out internal social reforms, and in many Afro-Asian countries the masses and their revolutionary-democratic leaders are beginning to fight for such reforms.

T h i r d, the international working-class movement and its creation, the world socialist system, which is exerting a revolutionizing influence on the world by the power of its example and performing the role of proletarian vanguard, helping to repel the export of counter-revolution, rendering all-round assistance to the peoples fighting for national independence, etc. Its influence is growing steadily on all continents, in all countries and in every sphere—political, diplomatic, military, economic, etc. Un-

less this influence is taken into account, it is impossible to understand many developments now taking place in the world, notably in the countries advancing along the non-capitalist path.

These factors have greatly contributed to the gradual process of transition from the general democratic stage of the liberation revolution to the socialist stage in a number of countries and have prompted the broad masses to choose the non-capitalist path of development, beginning their advance to socialism in the absence of a national proletarian dictatorship and an organizationally consolidated Marxist-Leninist Party.

But this does not mean that the working class and its revolutionary ideology exert no influence on the above-mentioned changes. In the process of effecting general democratic and especially individual socialist transformations in the countries developing along the non-capitalist path, certain methods and principles of scientific socialism are applied. There are cases when revolutionary democrats act as Communists in power would do, the latter always being guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. They do so whenever they reject the capitalist way of development, carry out more or less comprehensive nationalization of foreign and national big capitalist property, and effect an agrarian reform in several stages so as to prevent the possibility of its class enemies causing serious damage to the weak productive forces in agriculture; they do so when they display political solidarity with the socialist states on cardinal problems of world politics.

Consistent revolutionary democrats who, while not yet fully accepting Marxist ideology, are really proceeding from working people's interests, have no other scientific theory and other political methods for solving fundamental social problems, no other methods for carrying out socio-economic reforms than the methods and forms tested by the life and struggle of hundreds of millions of people, and constantly enriched and theoretically substantiated by Marxism-Leninism. One can refuse to accept Marxist philosophy owing to inadequate knowledge of it, or to deeply-ingrained prejudices, or, possibly, owing to the definite social narrow-mindedness of individual liberation movement leaders, but not a single anti-capitalist reform can be successfully consummated without turning to Marx, Engels and Lenin, without drawing on the experience gained by Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism. That is why the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the working class is exerting an ever stronger influence on the countries advancing along the non-capitalist path. The experience of everyday life and struggle shows, that any attempt to disregard this law-governed process can only lead to political defeat.

What should be the attitude of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party (the reference, naturally, is to those countries where they exist) to the revolutionary democrats' activity? This question must be decided independently by the parties themselves. However, every concrete solution cannot but take into account the experience gained by the communist movement and

already existing Marxist-Leninist theoretical propositions concerning this question.

A characteristic feature of petty-bourgeois democracy, Lenin pointed out, is to take into account, assimilate and apply in its political struggle only individual aspects of Marxism. This phenomenon was explained by Lenin in the following way: "The rate at which capitalism develops varies in different countries and in different spheres of the national economy. Marxism is most easily, rapidly, completely and lastingly assimilated by the working class and its ideologists where large-scale industry is most developed. Economic relations which are backward, or which lag in their development, constantly lead to the appearance of supporters of the labour movement who assimilate only certain aspects of Marxism, only certain parts of the new world outlook, or individual slogans and demands, being unable to make a determined break with all the traditions of the bourgeois world outlook in general and the bourgeois-democratic world outlook in particular."¹

Consequently, the complex character of the national democrats' ideology is determined by objective causes. It will require much time for the national-revolutionary parties in the emergent countries to become genuinely Marxist Parties as a result of the changed conditions of life, industrial development, progress in education, consolidation of the working class and

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 16, p. 348.

greater political consciousness of the masses. Hence, while upholding the Marxist-Leninist teaching in principle, Marxists must be flexible and perspicacious enough not to repel the masses; they must constantly seek and find allies among those social strata and groups which do not yet fully accept the theory of scientific socialism but which already apply certain parts of it today and can fully accept it tomorrow.

The important political task now facing Marxist-Leninists whose solution is a prerequisite for the victory of socialism is to counter the prejudices of rank-and-file petty-bourgeois representatives of national revolutionary democracy, at the same time seeking out in the contradictory realities of an economically backward country the possibility of forming a close alliance between Communists and the social forces which are turning to socialism and which are followed by millions upon millions of people, and raising the consciousness of their allies from among the non-proletarian working masses to the level of understanding the basic principles of scientific socialism.

Lenin profoundly analyzed certain aspects in the behaviour of intermediate strata at the most crucial moments of the October Revolution. His analysis contains extremely valuable conclusions concerning the approach to diverse problems of the contemporary stage of development of the revolution in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. Commenting on the gradual change of attitude among the petty-bourgeois masses and their parties in favour of Soviet rule in the early years following the Octo-

ber Revolution, Lenin wrote: "It is not enough to encourage this change of front and amicably greet those who are making it. A politician who knows what he is working for must learn to *bring about* this change of front among the various sections and groups of the broad mass of petty-bourgeois democrats if he is convinced that serious and deep-going historical reasons for such a turn exist."¹

Lenin's approach to the question concerning the attitude to petty-bourgeois democracy teaches Communists to use every means at their disposal to bring about a decisive turn of the masses to scientific socialism. Such a turn of epoch-making significance is now taking place in the minds of hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa, who associate the improvement of their conditions with the struggle for socialism. They do not yet clearly understand the meaning of scientific socialism or fully appreciate the difficulties involved in building a socialist society in economically backward countries. Often enough they expect socialism to yield immediate and very tangible results, fully unaware of the titanic labour effort that is required for the victory of socialism. Not infrequently they regard socialism from a purely utilitarian point of view, and this is easy to understand. But even this approach reflects a clear understanding of the fact that the transition to socialism is the only way out, that capitalism

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 191.

does not offer any real prospect for improving the standard of living.

In many Afro-Asian countries the proletariat is still very small numerically and poorly organized; it has not yet developed into a class capable of decisively influencing social development. To believe that the working people of an economically underdeveloped country which has no strong working class, should wait for the possibility of establishing a national proletarian dictatorship in order to begin the transition to socialist development would actually mean the need to develop capitalism at an accelerated pace in order to form a working class on the basis of capitalist industrialization and only then proceed to organize a Marxist-Leninist Party. This point of view was put forward years ago and refuted by the development of events. At the Amsterdam Congress of the Second International in 1904 Social-Democrat Van Kool of Holland asserted: "Marx's hypothesis that certain countries can, at least partially, by-pass the capitalist period of their economic evolution has failed to materialize. Primitive peoples will be able to advance to civilization only by passing through this Calvary. Hence, our duty, the duty of Social-Democracy, is not to hamper capitalist development—that indispensable link in mankind's history. We can even help to bring it forth by mitigating the birth pangs."

Anyone who rejects the idea of non-capitalist development in our days wittingly or unwittingly slithers down to the positions of right-wing Social-Democracy; he dooms the peoples of many countries, where conditions for the socia-

list revolution are not yet ripe, to the capitalist path of development, the road of suffering for the people. Underestimation of the influence exercised by the national-democratic parties, a supercilious attitude to them, and inability to work in close cooperation with them, are tantamount, in effect, to renouncing the possibility of realizing the principles of scientific socialism on the basis of a united front of all progressive forces. Such a united front can be formed by gradually multiplying the ties with the people, by finding common ground for solidly uniting the Communists and national democrats in the joint struggle against imperialism, feudalism and capitalism. To display inability or unwillingness to multiply contacts with the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the non-proletarian working masses, and to establish the closest possible cooperation with revolutionary democracy, is to play into the hands of those Communists who, under cover of ideological purity, actually stand on a politically dangerous sectarian position.

Marxist-Leninists have consistently championed the decisive role of the working class in developing the socialist revolution and building socialism. But in those countries where the national working class has not yet taken shape, its leading role can be recognized at a certain stage of non-capitalist development, provided the capitalist path is rejected in advance. The reference here is to preparations for the building of socialism and not to its full-scale construction, let alone its completion, which is a thing of the distant future for such countries.

UNITY OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES—THE ROAD TO VICTORY

● The process of transition to non-capitalist development varies from country to country and is attended by political and organizational difficulties and weaknesses. This circumstance is being exploited by Right and "Left" elements with a view to discrediting the very idea of non-capitalist development. They deliberately shut their eyes to the generally known fact that every transition to a new form of social organization cannot but give rise to temporary complications in economic life.

The greatest difficulties at the present stage are engendered by the problem of creating a new state, and shaping its social and class structure, the problem of bringing the activity of the state apparatus into the closest possible conformity with the aims of non-capitalist development, strengthening its ties with the masses and ensuring the latter's participation in administering the state. In a number of countries that have proclaimed socialist aims, the social character of the state and the class structure of its apparatus are sometimes considerably at variance with official declarations. There is still a wide gap between word and deed in this respect.

In a number of countries national democrats come out in favour of democratic forms of the social and political system. When the structure of the state apparatus they have set up is analyzed, one often comes to the conclusion that it is military or semi-military in character, especially in the early period of development of national-

democratic states. During this period national-democratic regimes are often strongly influenced by personal power.

There is much evidence to show that in many national-democratic states people with dubious political views or openly hostile to national-democratic aims can be found both in the government machine and in the army. These elements constitute a serious danger to the national-democratic revolution, and to its anti-imperialist, democratic and social aims and transformations, as well as to the revolutionary leaders and the stability of the state system. This poses the problem of thoroughly reorganizing and purging the old state machine inherited by the national-democratic regime.

In Burma, for instance, the army became the mainstay of the state apparatus following the establishment of the national-democratic system. Having carried out a coup d'état, a group of patriotic, progressive-minded officers, assumed full responsibility for the management of state affairs, for the shaping of home and foreign policy and directing the national economy. But if we take the civilian, administrative apparatus inherited by the new Burma from the national bourgeoisie, it has to be admitted, as Prime Minister General Ne Win has done, that it is corrupted to the core under the influence of the colonialists and their bourgeois flunkys. Burmese press reports indicate that this apparatus more often acts *against* non-capitalist development than *for* its programme. The question that naturally arises in this connection is: what ena-

bles the army to improve the government machine?

The Burmese army was founded in the forties to fight for national liberation from British and, later, from Japanese occupation, to act as the armed force of the national revolution. The process of its establishment was largely influenced by the Burmese Communist Party. It is a democratic, peasant army, in which the urban poor, the working class and the urban petty bourgeoisie are widely represented. Its officer corps is likewise made up of democratically-minded commoner-intellectuals. As a rule, the army officers are not connected with the feudal-landlord elements or the big bourgeoisie. It is highly indicative that one of the leading organizers of this army, General Aung San (assassinated in 1947), used to be a prominent figure in the Communist Party of Burma.

Despite the fact that for nearly 15 years the bourgeois governments of U Nu, U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nyein tried to use the army as a shock force in the struggle against the Communist Party and assiduously fostered in it anti-communist ideology and practice, it has managed to retain many revolutionary, national-democratic officers who came out against imperialism and the local bourgeoisie in March 1962, at the crucial moment in the country's history. But anti-communist sentiments and prejudices continue to persist among the officers and sometimes make themselves felt.

The experience of Burma and other countries that have taken the non-capitalist path graphically shows that the national democrats are able

to utilize the state apparatus taken over from the previous regime only in the initial stages of struggle for non-capitalist reforms, and even then with much difficulty and at the cost of serious losses in rates of development and results. As to the country's further development along the non-capitalist path towards socialism, to say nothing of the transition to the full-scale construction of socialism or carrying it to final victory, this task can be successfully accomplished only by radically and decisively changing the class nature of the state, perfecting the methods and forms of its activity and converting it into a state of the working people.

The social changes effected in a number of countries have ensured the initial success of non-capitalist development, but at the same time engendered serious resistance on the part of reactionary elements. The need to overcome the resistance of internal and external reaction imperatively calls for new steps towards further democratization of the state, mobilization of the working masses in the struggle for a new society and decisively raising their role in governing the state. This poses the important problem of strengthening or creating anew a vanguard, a people's political party capable of assimilating the theory and practice of scientific socialism as a basis for exercising state leadership, relying on the support of the working masses. Sustained efforts to create such parties or to reorganize the existing mass national-democratic parties along these lines are now being made in Burma, the UAR, Guinea and other countries.

In this connection the problem of ensuring

unity of all progressive political forces acquires great importance. Closer unity of the forces of the national-democratic revolution is an indispensable condition for the effective solution of major and pressing problems involved in further advance along the non-capitalist path. Overcoming the disunity of these forces is a prime condition of social progress. Living realities demand the establishment of a bloc of Left forces, in which the Marxist-Leninist elements, being more conscious and better trained, could play the role of friend and helper of the national democrats, the ideological beacon of socialism and the vanguard fighter. The adherents of scientific socialism in this bloc can give a correct orientation, outline a clear prospect of development, and explain it to the masses; they can show the people all the advantages offered by the non-capitalist path of development, at the same time indicating ways and means of overcoming the difficulties that are bound to arise. Marxist-Leninists' successful activity in this direction would enable the Left forces to avoid many mistakes and shortcomings; it would also exert a beneficent influence at the critical moments of development.

There is one more question of considerable theoretical and political interest in the struggle for the non-capitalist path of development and in the relations between Marxist-Leninists and national democrats—the attitude towards religion and the church. It would be the height of dogmatism and gross violation of the elementary principles of Marxian dialectics, of the demand for a concrete historical approach, were

Marxist-Leninists to fail to find a common language and achieve unity with religious-minded national-democratic leaders and the mass of believers among the working people because of differences over religion; this could only play into the hands of the external and internal reactionaries.

The Soviet Communist Party's attitude to religion was dictated by the very peculiar historical situation prevailing in the early period after the October Revolution. The Russian Orthodox Church had for centuries been closely connected with the monarchy, owned millions of hectares of land, enjoyed extensive social, political and economic privileges, and had a ramified system of centralized church apparatus embracing every part of the vast country. During the Civil War the reactionary clergy took an active part in the counter-revolutionary activity and not infrequently organized and directed the struggle against socialism.

But Buddhism or Islam, for example, are in a somewhat different political situation. During the past 100-150 years these religions were predominant among many oppressed peoples, numbering hundreds of millions of followers in Asia and Africa, whereas Christianity was, in the main, the colonialists' religion. It should also be borne in mind that a deep-going process of social differentiation, reflecting the people's growing urge for complete national liberation and social progress, is now under way among millions of Moslems and Buddhists.

With the victory of the October Revolution the Soviet Government did not immediately abo-

lish Mohammedan courts and schools in Central Asia, but merely instituted, side by side with them, the Soviet court and opened Soviet public schools. The choice between religious and secular school or court was left to the discretion of parents and the persons concerned. On the other hand, in European part of Russia, where the proletariat was more developed and possessed a higher level of political consciousness, the Soviet Government immediately separated the church from the state and from the school. The CPSU conducted extensive explanatory work among the population, patiently waiting for the time when the consciousness of the population, its practical experience in the struggle for the new social system would be brought into conformity with the political aims of the new rule.

The religious views of a section of the population do not form an insuperable barrier to the building of socialism, provided they are not fanatic and counter-revolutionary in character. This extremely valuable experience of Soviet rule must not be forgotten by Marxist-Leninists, whose historic mission is to establish close alliance with the broadest masses influenced by religion.

Nor can one ignore the fact that petty-bourgeois notions and illusions are fairly widespread in many countries entering the path of non-capitalist development. It has to be admitted that not all national-democratic leaders by far are able or willing to lend themselves to stringent discipline and organization, that not all citizens by far are accustomed to the strenuous labour effort required for the building of the new socie-

ty. Certain representatives of national democracy are distinguished by their hasty decisions, radical phraseology, and insufficient perseverance in the attainment of set goals. These adverse factors sometimes seriously complicate the revolutionary process.

Another thing that must always be borne in mind is that in recent years the exploiting elements in the economically backward countries developing along the non-capitalist path have been trying to further their class aims by exploiting socialist slogans. In present-day conditions it is becoming increasingly difficult for the national bourgeoisie to retain political power and to develop and uphold national capitalism without presenting it as socialism. In the developing countries this commodity needs a "socialist" wrapping. While cooperating with the national-democratic forces which support the non-capitalist path of development, one cannot lose sight of the fact that the conservative part of these forces is working to prevent the spread of genuinely scientific socialist ideas among the masses and the extreme Right elements are openly disseminating the ideology of anti-communism. Marxist-Leninists have always waged an irreconcilable ideological struggle against such attempts, and are firmly resolved to continue this struggle in the future.

In recent years there has appeared a new tendency among national democrats and even among certain leaders of the communist movement to amend or modify scientific socialism in "adaptation" to local conditions. This, they say, is necessary in order to bring it into conformity

with geographical, historical, cultural, national and racial peculiarities. The "adaptation" process often results in emasculating the most essential revolutionary principles applicable to all countries, in depriving scientific socialism of its very soul by diluting it with diverse amendments allegedly necessitated by national peculiarities and specific local conditions. The ideologists who advocate "adapting" scientific socialism to specific geographical conditions even put forward theoretical concepts purporting to prove that in the scale of revolutionary values national and racial unity stands much higher in quality and importance than class unity. Local Communists and consistent revolutionary democrats are resolutely combating these attempts to rob scientific socialism of its revolutionary spirit.

Marxist-Leninists continue to cooperate actively with the national democrats even in conditions when anti-communist sentiments are manifested by some of their representatives. There need be no doubt that the Left-wing national democrats and circles standing close to them will ultimately come to Marxism-Leninism. The Left elements in the national-democratic parties gravitate to the masses, know them far better than other do, and appreciate the need of working jointly with the Marxist-Leninists.

Marxism-Leninism is spreading ever wider and deeper among the working people of all countries and continents. It is becoming increasingly popular even in areas marked by the predominance of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian

working masses. This testifies to the strength and viability of scientific socialism's ideology. At the same time one should clearly realize the danger arising from its dogmatic or opportunist adaptation, which tends to deprive it of its intrinsic dialectical, concrete historical, internationalist, class and partisan approach. The communist movement has already encountered this danger in a number of countries and parties. Unless resolutely combated, this danger will ultimately lead to nationalist deviations and will undermine the unity of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the international communist movement...

History has imposed on the Communists the task of formulating the most effective political line in relation to the national democrats who have come or are coming to power in the emergent countries. The successful practical solution of this task will bring about a decisive turn of the "world countryside" in favour of the socialist system, of the world town. Only then will the vast majority of the population of the globe firmly and finally set foot on the road leading to socialism.

**The Emergent Countries:
Certain Aspects
of Socio-Economic
Development**

● The emergent nations' anti-imperialist struggle is increasingly shifting to the sphere of socio-economic development. Efforts to achieve genuine independence are now inseparably linked with the fight for economic liberation and for the elimination of economic backwardness. The population of the countries which for many decades comprised the colonial and semi-colonial periphery of imperialism (exclusive of the Asian and Latin American countries belonging to the world socialist system) makes up nearly half of the world's total. And it is only natural that their social and economic problems are be-

coming increasingly urgent and pressing both on a national and international scale.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIBERATION AND NEOCOLONIALISM

● Colonialism as a system of imperialist policy is not something rigid or immutable. It undergoes a constant process of change in adaptation to new historical conditions. In the Congo, South Vietnam and other parts of the world the imperialist powers, notably the USA, are launching a broad counter-offensive against the national-liberation revolutions in an effort to save their crumbling colonial empires. The imperialist policy towards many young states has assumed new forms: the old, "classical" type of colonialism has been replaced by neocolonialism, which is fraught with particular danger for the newly liberated nations.

Why is neocolonialism especially dangerous? First of all because the imperialist powers' neocolonialist policy is chiefly based on utilizing a whole complex of objective economic factors which help to perpetuate the economic and technical backwardness of the newly free countries and make them dependent on imperialism: the domination of foreign capital; the agrarian and raw-material pattern of the economy resulting from the long period of colonial oppression and the unequal division of labour in world capitalist economy; monopoly domination on the world capitalist market and the resultant disparity in prices which robs the economically backward states of a sizable part of their national income;

the emergent nations' dependence on the markets of the former metropolitan and other capitalist countries; and, lastly, the developing countries' acute need of capital and technical services, of which the Western powers are still the main suppliers. Taking advantage of these factors, the imperialists are bent on preventing any changes that might endanger their continued exploitation of the former colonial periphery.

Consequently, what makes neocolonialism particularly dangerous is its "position of strength" in the economic sphere, which confronts the national-liberation revolutions with the most difficult tasks of economic liberation. We refer to the need of putting an end to the domination of foreign capital, altering the colonial economic pattern, building up a national industry, eliminating the survivals of feudalism which fetter the development of productive forces in agriculture, making equality and mutual advantage the basic principles of foreign economic relations. Only the accomplishment of these basic tasks can ensure genuine political independence.

Another factor that makes neocolonialism especially dangerous is that the imperialists' unsuccessful attempts to counter the spread of national-liberation movements by military and political means greatly intensify their aggressive activity in the economic sphere, increasing their determination to further their aims with the help of economic pressure and other neocolonialist methods. And these aims are not confined to defending foreign monopoly interests. At the present stage, when many Afro-Asian

countries are confronted with the urgent question of which road of development to take, the imperialists attach paramount importance to keeping the developing countries within the capitalist orbit.

"The principal task of our aid programme," the late President Kennedy stressed, "is to prove historically that in the 20th century . . . economic progress and political democracy (i. e., bourgeois democracy—*Ed.*) can go hand in hand." Jean de Broglie, France's Secretary of State for Algerian Affairs, was more concrete in explaining the motives prompting his government to "co-operate" with Algeria. One of the chief considerations, he frankly admits, is the desire "to prevent the spread of an ideology that is inimical to the principles of civilization championed by France," or, in other words, hostile to the principles of the capitalist system.

The export of private capital, economic and technical "aid" and other neocolonialist means are designed to render the developing countries' internal and external policy immune to anti-Western tendencies. The imperialists are trying to prevent national-liberation revolutions from spreading to the young states' internal economic development and external economic relations, to prevent the development of their relations with the socialist countries. They are striving to retain and, if possible, to enhance the pro-capitalist orientation of the emergent countries as an indispensable condition for the entire system of neocolonialist domination.

It will thus be seen that the imperialist powers' neocolonialist policy seriously hampers the

developing countries' progress towards economic liberation. The struggle against neocolonialism is inseparably linked with the struggle for economic independence.

Direct private investments of foreign capital in the developing countries constitute the material basis of neocolonialism. Imperialist propaganda tries to depict these investments as an important lever of economic progress, as the only means of disseminating technical knowledge and production experience in the young sovereign states. Actually, private foreign capital plays a diametrically opposite role. The activity of foreign monopolies can only be described as unconcealed robbery and rapine. Their profits far exceed the influx of new investments, which means systematic financial plundering of the developing countries. Between 1951 and 1960 long-term foreign private investments in the developing countries amounted to 10,310 million dollars, compared with 20,900 million dollars (1950-61) taken out of these countries in the shape of profits and interest.¹

Nor should it be forgotten that the imperialist monopolies prefer to invest capital only in the most promising branches, those capable of yielding quick profits. This trend of capital investments, far from eliminating the colonial economic pattern, only makes it more secure. As a rule, private foreign capital prevents the rise

¹ *International Flow of Long-Term Capital and Official Donations, 1951-59*, UN, pp. 2-3, "...1959-61," p. 19; *Le Monde*, March 22-23, 1964.

and development of the process of material reproduction and accumulation on a national basis because it is chiefly connected with the process of reproduction in the developed capitalist countries. True, when one-time colonies achieve political independence the foreign capitalists can no longer freely determine the trend of their capital investments. Participation in so-called joint ventures together with national private or state capital becomes a fairly widespread form of their activity. For example, not a single manufacturing enterprise founded in Morocco in the years of independent development is fully controlled by the state. Foreign capital shares in the operation of all enterprises, holding key positions in the biggest and most important ones. This situation is fraught with the danger of establishing foreign control over the key branches of the national economy.

All this gives rise to the objective need to progressively limit the activity of foreign monopolies. Without instituting financial and administrative control over their activities, without intensive preparations for the nationalization of "pure" foreign companies, without nationalizing their enterprises where appropriate conditions have been created for this; in short, without a stubborn and systematic struggle against the exploitive proclivities of private foreign capital there can be no question of advancing towards economic independence.

The Western powers' "aid" to developing countries is designed to clear the road for the monopolies. In their collective work *The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy*, a group

of American scientists write that in exchange for Western assistance, the young states must "adjust their national economy with a view to attracting capital."¹ The imperialist powers estimate their postwar economic "aid" to developing countries at about 50,000 million dollars, that is between one-third and one-fourth of the sum annually invested in the economic development of these countries. But these figures are obviously exaggerated, for the actual amount of the West's contribution to the economic development of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries does not exceed 12,000 million dollars.²

And what is the economic effect of imperialist "aid?" Does it help the young countries advance towards economic independence? There are many concrete examples to show that this "aid" is least of all aimed at strengthening and developing their industrial potential. The London magazine *New Africa* justly pointed out in November 1963, that, far from being sufficient to meet the young countries' requirements in industrialization, the Western aid actually hampers it, for it is usually directed against industrial development projects in the state sector.

There is no denying that the developing countries stand in acute need of economic and technical assistance, though this does not relieve

¹ *The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy*, New York, 1955.

² V. Rybakov and I. Stepanov, "Aid" to Developing Countries in the Policy and Strategy of Imperialism, Moscow, 1964, pp. 119, 144.

them of the need to rely on their own resources. Foreign aid can contribute to economic progress only if it is granted without any shackling conditions. Among other things, the developing countries insist that Western loans should be granted for longer periods, at lower rates of interest, on easier terms of repayment, etc. The socialist countries' growing assistance to the young sovereign states greatly facilitates their struggle for more favourable and just terms of Western aid. Another important factor on which the emergent nations' economic progress greatly depends is their foreign trade—the chief purveyor of foreign currency so vitally needed for the purchase of machinery and equipment. Hence, the struggle for better conditions of trade and for equality on the world market is of vital importance to the young states. And in this respect, too, the developing countries are actively supported by the socialist states, as was demonstrated anew by the 1964 International Conference on Trade and Development. The Soviet Union's repeal of customs duties on commodity imports from the developing countries has greatly contributed to the expansion of their commercial ties.

The struggle for economic independence and for the elimination of backwardness impel the young nations towards extension of their economic, technical and trade cooperation with the socialist system. The socialist countries' assistance has helped to eliminate the imperialist powers' monopoly in supplying industrial equipment, granting credits and disseminating scientific and technical experience, thereby vastly

strengthening the developing countries' positions in the face of imperialism. The socialist countries' economic relations with the emergent nations are based on equality, mutual advantage, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for state sovereignty.

In their fight for economic independence the developing countries are concerting their efforts, striving to promote and strengthen mutual cooperation. The vital need for this is self-evident, for the majority of the young states, especially those with a relatively small area and population, are practically unable to get along without coordinating their economic development. And such coordination is gradually taking shape. A graphic example of this is provided by the treaty establishing an Arab common market and envisaging gradual consolidation of economic and commercial ties between the Arab states, which came into force early in 1965. Various groups of African countries are beginning to practise more and more frequently joint designing and building of major projects, thereby paving the way to closer inter-African economic cooperation.

Progressive-minded elements in the young states attach exceptional importance to the promotion of economic contacts between them. The economic seminar arranged by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization in February 1965 adopted a special resolution calling for "the active development of economic cooperation and mutual assistance between Afro-Asian countries." It is important to ensure that such cooperation does not proceed under the aegis of the imperialist

powers, which seek to subordinate it to their neocolonialist aims.

The efforts to liquidate foreign monopoly domination, ensure more favourable conditions of aid, equality on the world market, etc., constitute the external aspect of the struggle for economic independence. Of no less importance is its internal aspect.

REORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

● Not even the most categorical demands for equality on the world market and other concessions will have any effect on the imperialist monopolies and radically alter the existing situation unless they are augmented by purposeful and consistent efforts to strengthen the national economy. The foundation of economic independence is created first and foremost in the emergent countries themselves.

The most general indicator of economic backwardness is the small value of the per capita gross national product. In 1960 this averaged 130 dollars in all the developing countries, or only slightly more than one-eleventh of that in the developed capitalist states.¹ In the 1950's the average annual rate of increase in gross domestic product was somewhat higher in the developing countries than in the industrialized capitalist states (4.4% as against 4%), but in

¹ *A Review of World Trends in Gross Domestic Product*, E/Conf. 46/67, March 9, 1964, p. 11.

per capita growth it continued to lag behind the latter owing to the faster population growth; as a result the gap in per capita incomes between the two groups has been growing steadily, increasing from 975 dollars in 1950 to 1,280 dollars in 1960. In the latter year the developing countries' population accounted for two-thirds of the capitalist world's total, while their gross domestic product amounted to less than one-sixth.¹

What economic causes are responsible for this gap between the two poles of the world capitalist economy? The chief contributing factor is the low level of development of the productive forces in the newly free countries, which is a direct consequence of protracted colonial rule. One of the manifestations of this lag is the one-sided economic pattern prevailing in most Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, which, as distinct from industrially developed states, is marked by the predominance of so-called primary branches—agriculture and extractive industries. The share of the manufacturing industry in gross domestic product is between 50 and 66 per cent less, and that of agriculture and extractive industries between 50 and 71 per cent less, than in industrially developed countries.²

Before we proceed to analyze social relations, we shall point to the predominance of the

¹ *Etude sur l'économie mondiale, 1963*, Partie I. UN, 1964, pp. 20-21.

² *World Economic Survey*, UN, 1962, p. 19.

least productive manual labour in the agriculture of the economically backward countries. And since labour productivity there is considerably lower than in other spheres of production, the share of agriculture in gross national product is smaller than the share of the population engaged in agricultural labour (from 50 to 80 and more per cent of the gainfully employed population). In India, for instance, about 80 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture, whose share in the national income does not reach 50 per cent. This largely determines the low level of gross domestic product and national income.

This economic pattern, reflecting as it does the low level of development of the productive forces, can hardly offer the emergent countries any prospect of economic independence. As long as their export trade is confined exclusively to raw materials, they are bound to feel the adverse effects of progressively deteriorating conditions for the sale of their products on the world capitalist market.

The developed capitalist countries still remain the chief trading partners of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, as a result of which the latter sustain serious losses from the continuously operating disparity between the prices of what they sell and what they buy. Thus, in 1962 the amount of manufactured goods these countries could buy on the proceeds from their exports was 20-25 per cent less than in 1952.

All this imperatively calls for maximum development of the productive forces, especially in agriculture—the economic foundation of the young states. Many countries experience an

acute need of building up or expanding their own industry as a means of radically altering the old economic pattern inherited from colonialism.

This should not be taken to mean, of course, that every country, big or small, must strive towards a universal industrial structure, which is impossible and irrational. What we have in mind is an industrial pattern based on the rational use of available natural resources and manpower. As regards the priority development of any particular branch, the character of industrialization will naturally depend on concrete conditions. It is hardly possible to speak of the priority development of heavy industry in countries which lack the necessary facilities for the production of most essential consumer goods. On the other hand, in countries with a comparatively developed light industry the task of establishing the steel, engineering and chemical industries is quite timely and urgent.

MEANS AND METHODS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

● What means, methods and forces are required for effecting industrialization in an historically short period? Can this goal be achieved by private capital? The experience of many young states convincingly shows that local private capital is not in a position to solve the task of industrial development, especially the establishment of heavy industry, which requires big capital investments that cannot be expected to yield quick returns. Only the state can ensure new industrial construction by mobilizing inter-

nal financial and other resources; only the state can expand the home market for industry, institute the necessary control over the operation of foreign capital, etc.

It is by no means accidental that the state sector has already become or is becoming the decisive factor of economic development in many emergent countries. Wherever this sector functions on a democratic basis and is not subordinated to the interests of the bourgeoisie, it constitutes an important material prerequisite for the transition to the non-capitalist path.

The character and prospects of the state sector are determined by the character of the state economic policy. In the UAR, for example, it controlled about 80 per cent of the country's economic activity (exclusive of agriculture) and became the determining factor of economic progress, the material foundation of non-capitalist development, as far back as 1963. This is not the case in India, where the state sector, while fairly strong on the whole (accounting as it does, for over one-third of the country's fixed assets), was formed in the main by means of new construction, not by nationalizing foreign or local private capitalist property. In other words, it has been developing parallel with the private capitalist sector, without in any way impairing the latter's interests. On the contrary, state regulation of the economy in India is largely subordinated to the interests of private capitalist enterprise. That is why the growth of the state sector there is not indicative, at least for the time being, of any progress towards non-capitalist development.

Bourgeois economists often claim that state-owned industrial enterprises often yield less profit than those run by private capitalists and even operate at a loss. Hence, they argue, the state should refrain from financing industrial development and make more rational use of its resources. The state, they allege, must confine itself to providing favourable conditions for the operation of private capital by taking upon itself, say, the expenses involved in the creation of an infrastructure—the development of transport facilities, the building of power plants, communications, etc., while purely industrial activity should be entrusted to private businessmen.

Is this argument convincing? It has to be admitted that many state enterprises in the emergent countries are unprofitable from the private capitalist point of view—they do not yield immediate profit. This is explained by several reasons. Most of the enterprises built by the state are in the sphere of heavy industry. The character of their production cannot ensure a quick turnover of capital and rapid recoupment of investments. Another reason why state-owned enterprises often operate at a loss is inefficient management, especially during the initial period of operation, shortage of technical personnel, etc. All this is true. On the other hand, the narrow, private capitalist concept of profitability is inapplicable to countries that are faced with the task of altering the entire economic pattern, of changing the direction and rates of economic development. And that is precisely the task confronting the emergent countries, which they

must solve by establishing a diversified industrial structure based on heavy industry.

Capital investments which may seem unprofitable to an entrepreneur are vitally needed to raise the technical level of the entire national economy and achieve higher labour productivity on this basis. Consequently, they are highly beneficial from the viewpoint of national interests. A graphic example of that is provided by the Aswan Dam. It will require years of strenuous labour by large masses of people, years of big capital investments before it begins to yield its full economic effect. Yet everyone is convinced that its construction will eventually pay off in full. The completion of this vast project will signify a great revolution in the Republic's industry and agriculture, which will transform the face of the country.

It is thus obvious that the building of major industrial projects, the development of a diversified economic structure with state funds and under state control fully accords with national interests and opens up the prospect of improving the living standard of the masses and eliminating a country's economic backwardness.

It should also be borne in mind that only the existence of a powerful state sector ensures the possibility of economic planning. Economic development programmes are now being elaborated or effected in about 50 Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. Soviet experience in planning undoubtedly exerts a beneficial influence on the economic policy of the emergent nations.

In the initial period the drafting and implementation of economic plans were seriously

hampered by inadequate experience and information, an acute shortage of skilled personnel, insufficient financial resources, etc. But the system of planning is gradually improving. Besides financial indicators the plans now fix output targets for major types of goods. Attempts at integrated planning, coordination of different branches, scientific substantiation of their development, etc., are becoming more frequent.

Planned state allocations are chiefly directed to agriculture, industry, transport, communications and social security. Of course, the correlation between the main items of expenditure varies from country to country. The aims of planning and the distribution of allocations are largely determined by concrete socio-economic conditions and the character of the general economic policy, but under any conditions planning gives the state broad opportunities to influence the country's economic development.

The problem of obtaining the necessary means for economic and social development is probably one of the most acute for the young states. At the time of their liberation they did not possess a developed industry, a mechanized agriculture or adequate transport facilities. The economy they inherited from the colonialists did not offer any opportunities for independent development. Moreover, in some of the countries, notably in Algeria, the colonialists took care to destroy or put out of commission whatever equipment there was.

It goes without saying that the objective possibilities for expanding social production in any

country are determined by such factors as the available power, labour and raw material resources, the existing and potential capacity of the home market, etc. But the methods of utilizing these possibilities and the content of the economic policy in each individual case are chiefly determined by the class nature of government.

One of the sources of the much-needed financial means is foreign aid. However, it cannot serve as the principal source for the majority of the developing countries, because the demand for assistance is far greater than the supply and also because foreign indebtedness beyond definite economic limits tends to stunt economic growth. Consequently, the chief role necessarily belongs to internal material, manpower and financial resources.

At the same time, some of the young states (chiefly in Black Africa) with a particularly low level of economic development are compelled to rely almost exclusively on foreign aid in the initial stage of their economic upbuilding. Thus, 87 per cent of Guinea's capital investments under the first three-year economic programme were made at the expense of foreign credits. Somalia's first five-year plan (1963-67) is being largely financed from foreign sources. At the time they achieved independence, Mauritania, Upper Volta, Togo, the Malagasy Republic and several other former French colonies in Africa were extremely weak economically, which enabled French imperialism to retain them within the sphere of its interests.

The maximum mobilization and most effect-

ive use of internal resources can be ensured by an economic policy independent of the imperialist powers and by radical socio-economic reforms aimed at eliminating the obstacles hampering the development of productive forces. Such reforms are being effected in countries advancing along the non-capitalist path, where state power is wielded by political forces expressing the interests of the masses (the UAR, Burma, Mali, Guinea, etc.). The mobilization of internal resources in these countries is based on the expropriation of the propertied classes, on restricting the sphere of operation of private foreign capital.

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM

● The agrarian reform holds an especially important place in the programmatic demands of the progressive forces. And this is quite natural, for without an effective solution of the agrarian problem there can be no question of eliminating the age-old economic backwardness and shackling dependence on the imperialist powers. The agrarian question is the key to the solution of all the other fundamental economic and social problems. Industrialization is a case in point. The solution of this vital problem presupposes a substantial expansion of the home market, solution of the raw material and food problems, provision of reliable internal sources of accumulation, increased foreign currency receipts from export trade, etc. The solution of all these tasks imperatively demands sharply accelerated de-

velopment of the productive forces in agriculture.

What is the sum and substance of the agrarian question in the economically backward countries? Its essence lies in the existence of strong survivals of feudal relations which fetter the development of crop farming and animal husbandry. Agriculture is the predominant branch of their economy. More than half of the gainfully employed population in these countries is engaged in farming (55 per cent in Latin America, 73 per cent in Asia, 75 per cent in Africa).¹ At the same time, agriculture is the most backward sphere of production. It should not be forgotten that a considerable proportion of the peasants till land belonging to the big landowners.

In Latin America, for example, latifundia of over 1,000 hectares, comprising only 1.5 per cent of the farms, accounted for 64.9 per cent of the total arable land in 1950, whereas the 72.6 per cent of small farms (up to 20 hectares) accounted for only 3.7 per cent of the arable land.² Vast concentration of landed property is also characteristic of many Asian and North African countries.

"The forms of landownership prevailing in the developing countries are absolutely incompatible with technical progress," the distinguished Argentine economist Raul Prebisch

¹ G. Ardant, *Le monde en friche*, Paris, 1963, p. 172.

² *Report on the World Social Situation*, 1963, E/CN.5/375/Add.2, p. 43.

pointed out in his report at the Geneva Conference on Trade and Development. "A sizable proportion of cultivated land is owned by a small group of the population, while a vast mass of small and middle farms account for only an insignificant part of the land. All this undermines the process of development, since, on the one hand, the high rent accruing to the landowner does not prompt him to introduce technical achievements, and, on the other, the size of the farms and insufficient means often do not permit the most rational and effective use being made of up-to-date machines and implements."

As a rule, small peasants are not in a position to conduct intensive farming. Complete lack or shortage of machinery, fertilizers and financial assistance is directly responsible for the low productivity of peasant farming and for the wretched, semi-starvation existence of the peasants themselves, who are compelled to give their surpluses and often enough even part of the produce vitally needed for the upkeep of the family to the landlords, usurers and middlemen.

As to the big landowner who rents his land to the peasants on shackling terms, he has no economic interest in organizing capitalist production. Intensification of agriculture requires big outlays which are repaid only after a fairly long period of time. The system of feudal ownership, on the other hand, ensures the big landowner a regular income in the shape of rent and other feudal levies without any effort or expenses on his part.

Without radically altering this situation in

the countryside it is impossible to achieve any improvement in the lot of the peasantry, which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population, create a capacious home market for the growing industry or increase the output of farm produce. A radical agrarian reform is undoubtedly a vital necessity for all the emergent nations. And a radical solution of the agrarian problem calls for resolute measures to abolish the class of big landowners, practical implementation of the "land to the tillers" principle and all-round state assistance for agriculture.

The agrarian reforms now being planned or effected in a number of Asian and African countries closely approximate these basic principles. The Tripoli Programme of the National Liberation Front, adopted in Algeria in 1962, provided for the abolition of foreign and local big private landownership, free distribution of the confiscated land among landless and land-hungry farmers, production cooperation of the peasants, organization of material and financial assistance to agriculture by the state. In the course of 1963 foreign landownership was completely abolished and replaced by the agricultural self-government sector. Some of the local feudal lords were likewise expropriated.

The agrarian reform law adopted by the United Arab Republic immediately after the victory of the 1952 revolution fixed the maximum size of land holdings at 84 hectares. In July 1961 this size was reduced to 42 hectares per capita. Beginning with 1962, 42 hectares became the maximum size per family. It is planned

to confiscate all surplus land from the landlords by 1970. The earlier envisaged compensation for the confiscated land has been repealed. At the same time, the UAR government has gradually introduced more favourable conditions for the peasants buying land from the state by extending the term of payment, lowering the annual interest rate, cutting down extra charges for arrears, etc. These measures have greatly undermined the positions of feudalism and stimulated the development of productive forces in Egyptian agriculture. Simultaneously with the limitation of big landownership, the government is taking measures to extend the scale of cooperation in agriculture and to expand the country's cultivated area. The completion of the Aswan High Dam will decisively contribute to the elimination of land hunger by increasing the arable land by one-third.

It is highly significant that both in Algeria and the UAR, as well as in Burma, Guinea and certain other countries following the path of non-capitalist development, cooperation (despite the fact that it differs somewhat in character from country to country) appears as one of the most essential elements in the solution of the agrarian problem. In view of the rapidly growing population in these countries, their aggregate area sown to crops and fit for cultivation would be insufficient, especially in the UAR, to provide every peasant family with its own plot. The only way out lies in cooperation, in the development of cooperative farming which has indisputable advantages over small-scale individual farming. That explains why Algeria's ag-

ricultural workers and farmers refused to divide the settlers' estates, preferring instead the more effective method of working the land collectively.

On the other hand, the measures carried out in certain Afro-Asian and Latin American countries in the sphere of agriculture are distinguished by their halfhearted and inconsistent character. It is emphasized in the UN Economic and Social Council's report on the world social situation in 1961 that "all countries recognize the need for an agrarian reform, but the achievements in this respect are quite insignificant" owing to the existence of "greatly enhanced" interests "counteracting the reforms and progress."¹ The reforms carried out in these countries can at best only moderate the most odious forms of big feudal landownership and intensify the "capitalization" process in agriculture, but they cannot alleviate the hard plight of the peasant masses.

Ruthlessly exploited by the landlords, usurers, merchants and the state, the vast majority of peasant farms are in many cases unable to carry on even simple reproduction, which has a deleterious effect on the entire reproduction process in agriculture and on the national economy as a whole. Agriculture is increasingly lagging behind the growing requirements of accelerated economic development. The food problem is growing more acute. Per capita output of grain in Africa has remained at the same level during

¹ *Report on the World Social Situation, 1961*, E/CN.5/346, p. 82.

the past decade (150-160 kg per annum), while in Asia and Latin America it is even declining.¹

The data published by the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East show that the present per capita level of food consumption in Asia is lower than before the war. "Insufficient quantitative and especially qualitative protein content in food products," the Report on the World Social Situation in 1963 says, "is responsible for the numerous cases of protein hunger, particularly among children... In a number of countries Vitamin A deficiency in food products often leads to blindness, while in other countries it gives rise to anemia, rickets, pellagra, beriberi and other metabolic diseases."² Similar phenomena are observed in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

This results in aggravation of the economic difficulties experienced by the young states. From the social and political viewpoint, the unwillingness and inability of the ruling circles to carry out far-reaching agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry are fraught with the emergence and activization of diverse anti-democratic, reactionary trends and movements relying on the feudal-landlord element—the chief ally of imperialism in the emergent countries. On the contrary, a democratic solution of the agrarian problem championed by the progressive forces would powerfully accelerate social and economic progress.

¹ *Commerce*, April 17, 1965, p. 682.

² *Report on the World Social Situation, 1963*, E/CN.5/375/Add.1, pp. 150-51.

● Ensuring full employment is an exceptionally acute problem in conditions of a backward economy. The extent of overt and covert unemployment here is enormous, especially in agriculture. Owing to the persisting survivals of feudalism, the Asian, African and Latin American countryside today superabounds in "redundant" labour force, which partially flocks to the cities in search of earnings, forming extensive "poverty belts" around them.

One of the latest UN surveys points to the "mounting unemployment in the rural areas, which manifests itself openly or in the hidden form of partial employment; irresistible drive to the cities in search of earnings; sizable expansion of the service sector and the growth of unemployment in the urban communities."¹ According to certain estimates, only half of the able-bodied rural population in the developing countries is provided with jobs.² In Mexico, for example, "as many as two million farmers could apparently withdraw from agriculture without causing any decrease in the volume of production or its growth rates; this would enable the remaining rural population to increase its employment and the size of incomes."³ Econom-

¹ *Report on the World Social Situation, 1963*, pp. 270-71.

² *Afrique nouvelle*, Dakar, April 29, 1965, p. 8.

³ E. Flores, *Tratado de Economía Agrícola*, Mexico City, 1961, p. 367 (cited from E/CN 5/375/Add.2, p. 70).

ist M. L. Gupta estimates the number of fully and partially unemployed in India in 1954 at 42.3 million.¹

How can the multi-million masses in the emergent countries be delivered from the scourge of unemployment? The most general answer to this question is the swiftest possible extension of employment by developing the national economy at an accelerated pace. In the sphere of agriculture employment can be substantially extended by abolishing the old system of land-ownership, realizing the "land to the tillers" principle, promoting cooperation, intensifying production—in short, by effecting radical agrarian transformations in the interests of the peasants. Unemployment can also be mitigated to a certain extent by establishing and developing small-scale industrial production in the rural areas—initial processing of agricultural produce, etc.

But the most radical and effective means is, undoubtedly, industrialization, for without it the young states cannot hope to overcome their economic backwardness and all its attributes, including the enormous open and concealed unemployment. It should be pointed out in this connection that the influence of industrialization on the reduction of unemployment is not so much direct (technical progress generally leads to a relative decrease in variable capital, that is, manpower, in the structure of production) as indirect, since it ensures higher employment by

¹ *AICC Economic Review*, September 22, 1960, p. 34.

stimulating the entire process of economic development.

But this gives rise to an acute contradiction between the requirements of accelerated economic development, notably industrialization, and the shortage of skilled labour resources and technical personnel. The acute shortage of specialists is the scourge of all the developing countries, a delayed-action mine placed by the colonialists under the foundation of independence. In 1960, India was short of 9,800 highly skilled specialists. In Nigeria high-skill specialists account for only 0.1 per cent of the population, in India and the UAR for 0.5 per cent each, whereas in the developed countries the figure ranges between 2 and 5 per cent. In the 1950's, according to the UN Food and Agricultural Organization's estimates, Latin America was short of 26,000 agronomists.¹

As regards the colossal "redundance" of manpower in the emergent countries, it is due not only to the feeble development of industry and other spheres of employment but also to the extremely low educational level. In the Middle East, for instance, more than two-thirds of the adult population are illiterate.²

It should be clear that the process of overcoming the narrow bounds of colonialism's "cultural heritage" will take a fairly long period of

¹ *Report on the World Social Situation, 1963*, E/CN.5/375/Add.1, p. 287.

² *Report on the World Social Situation, 1963*, E/CN.5/375/Add.2, p. 89.

time and require truly titanic efforts on the part of the emergent nations. UN estimates show that it will be necessary to train approximately 400,000 scientists and engineers and 1,000,000 technicians in Africa by 1975 in order to meet the needs of industrialization.¹ This is an exceptionally complicated task which can be solved only on the basis of a broad cultural revolution, notably by eliminating illiteracy and stimulating to the utmost the development of elementary, secondary and higher education.

Such, in brief, are the basic social problems which exert a direct influence on the rates and character of economic development in the newly free countries. The economic and social aspects of development are indivisible. Their interaction is chiefly determined by the progress of the class struggle as regards the most urgent and pressing socio-economic problems. The way in which the solution of these problems is sought, the choice of the path of development by the emergent nations will depend on the correlation between the forces of progress and reaction.

¹ *Economic and Social Council*, E/3901, June 3, 1964, p. 10.

**Population
and the Problems
of Developing
Countries**

● With ever growing anxiety, the government circles and people of the countries which have been freed from colonialism, realize that national efforts to create an independent economy are seriously weakened by the sharp increase in population during the past 15-20 years. "Our five-year plans will lose all significance," the late Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, said, "if the population is to grow at a rate with which it is impossible to catch up." UAR President Nasser, Pakistani President Ayub Khan and a number of other prominent statesmen and public leaders in Asia and Africa have on many

occasions expressed their anxiety at the too rapid rate of increase in the population which causes economic and social difficulties.

This anxiety was reflected in the resolution on the growth of population and economic development, adopted in December 1962 by the 17th session of the UN General Assembly. Representatives of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, the UAR, Tunisia, Ghana, Uganda and a number of other countries taking part in that session, noted the urgent nature of the problem under discussion and the need for international organisations to actively assist in its solution and in particular, to render technical assistance to national birth control programmes.

What are the concrete demographic data? According to the UN "1963 Report on the World Social Situation" the population in Asia, Africa and Latin America increased respectively by 21.1 per cent, 23.3 per cent and 27.2 per cent during the 1950-60 period as compared with 11, 11.3 and 19.8 per cent in the 1920-30 period.

In absolute figures in these three areas where the majority of countries have only recently taken the road of independent economic development, the 1950-60 increase in the population totalled 385 million persons¹ (some 80 per cent of the total world increase for those years), including 63.6 million in India, 17.2 million in Pakistan, 16.6 million in Indonesia,

¹ *1963 Report on the World Social Situation*, UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 1963, pp. 6-8.

13.8 million in Brazil, 9.2 million in Mexico, 5.9 million in Nigeria, and 5.5 million in the UAR (Egypt).

Such a considerable increase in the population is a burden to the economies of many developing countries: production fails to keep up with the increased demands for food, housing, hospitals, educational establishments and other material and cultural benefits. Thus, in Indonesia the population increased by approximately 20 per cent during the 1937-55 period while the output of rice went up by only 12.5 per cent; the per capita food production in 1955-56 amounted to only 88 per cent of the average level for the 1934-38 period.¹ In the years 1956-1962, although rice production increased by another ten per cent, the Indonesian government was compelled to increase food imports by 20 per cent.²

According to the data cited in the review of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) for 1963, some 25 per cent of the population of this area suffer from near-starvation and a considerably greater part from malnutrition. In 1962-63, food production increased here on an average of 0.5 per cent a year with the average annual increase in the population being 2.4 per cent. This region, it is pointed out in the review, which before the Second World War in general exported food, has

¹ *Ekonomi dan keuangan Indonesia*, Djakarta, Pebruari 1958, hal. 81-82.

² *Far Eastern Economic Review 1963 Yearbook*, Hong-kong, p. 131.

started to import foodstuffs.¹

A similar situation can also be observed in Africa (about which Josue de Castro wrote in 1952 that "the whole of Africa without exception is a continent of starvation") and in Latin America where from 1961 to 1964 the output of agricultural products increased less than by one per cent at a time when the rise in population exceeded more than five per cent. It was pointed out in the 1964 FAO report that of the 200 million Latin Americans, 120 million suffer from chronic malnutrition.

In other words, due to the growth in population, which outstrips the increase of production, absolute overpopulation is developing in Asia, Africa and Latin America along with different forms of comparative overpopulation and primarily agrarian overpopulation as a result of the general economic backwardness of the majority of the countries of these continents caused by specific concrete and historically transient socio-economic conditions.

MALTHUSIAN CONCEPTS AND THE REAL REASONS FOR ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS

● Due to the unfavourable demographic situation which has developed during the past two, three decades in a number of African, Asian and Latin American countries, there has been a

¹ *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East*, 1963, Bangkok, 1964, p. 119.

noticeable revival in the propaganda of diverse up-to-date variants of the Malthusian population theory which declares that all social calamities—starvation, poverty, unemployment, epidemics, etc.—are caused by a certain “law of nature,” which, it is claimed, is expressed in the constant desire, inherent in all living beings, to propagate more rapidly than is permitted by the quantity of food at their disposal. “Crushed by Marx at the beginning of the 19th century, Malthus revives today and again raises his head.” *L'Express* weekly wrote in a review of *Malthus and two Marxes* by Alfred Sauvy, a French sociologist and demographer. “The only mistake Malthus made was that he was born ahead of his time...”¹ Somewhat earlier Eduard Bonnefous, a French author, also claimed that the predictions advanced by Malthus were not confirmed in the 19th century only because of a number of temporary factors which had exhausted themselves in the 20th century. In his book *The Land and Starvation Among People* he called for attention to be given to the most dramatic question of contemporary life—the question of starvation which threatens modern civilization with doom.²

It is true that far from all bourgeois scientists and publicists who frighten the public with “the threat of a rapidly growing population,” recognize the connection between their concept and the “classical” theory of Malthus, whose social

¹ *L'Express*, October 10, 1963, p. 13.

² E. Bonnefous, *Le Terre et la faim des hommes*, Paris, 1960, p. 9.

conclusions had an extremely open, bourgeois-apologetical nature, while the basic arguments (for instance, on the arithmetical progression in the increase of the means of subsistence, etc.) are too obviously in contradiction with reality. Often they even criticize Malthus, attempt to "improve" and modernize his theory, but on the main point they adhere to Malthusian positions as they consider that the population factor is the main and decisive point in the economic and social life of society. The "theory of the optimum of the population" can serve as a typical example. Its adherents, including the already mentioned A. Sauvy, the French economist L. Bouquet, and American economists G. Brown and J. Bonner, and others strive to prove that the well-being of society—"strength, longevity, health, culture, national income, family equilibrium and social harmony"—depends on achieving the base necessity in the numerical size of the population, while all social and economic difficulties are explained by a deviation from the factual numerical strength of this "optimal" level.

Irrespective of the subjective intentions of one or another researcher on population problems, the assertion that the peculiarities of social development are in the first place determined by demographic laws and not by the nature of production relations, as is the case in reality, inevitably leads to the conclusion of the "natural," non-class nature of the economic and cultural backwardness of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and hinders the correct choice of the path which will most rapidly overcome this backwardness.

It is most indicative that when explaining the difficult living conditions in the former colonies by "the pressure of an excessive population," the question remains unanswered—why is the nature of economic and social calamities approximately the same in densely populated India and in weakly populated Africa, in the valley of the Nile with a high density of population and in the rather "underpopulated" Middle Eastern countries (Syria, Iraq and others)? Why is it that dozens of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the most diverse geographical indices are united under the common name of "economically underdeveloped?" Why, for instance, is it that the reduction in the population of the Congo by more than 50 per cent during the 80 years of Belgian domination in no way resulted in an improvement in the life of its population?

It is impossible to reply to these questions from Malthusian positions because the economic and cultural backwardness of the newly free countries resulted not from demographic, but from socio-economic processes.

The heavy yoke of colonialist oppression transformed them into suppliers of agricultural and mineral raw materials and into markets for the sale of industrial goods for the world capitalist monopolies. The imperialists exerted every effort to hold up the industrial development of the colonies, setting up only those branches of production which they required for the exploitation of local natural and manpower resources. In 1939, the colonial and dependent countries accounted for 70 per cent of the population of

the capitalist world, while accounting for only eight per cent of the total industrial production including only 2.1 million tons of steel, or some 1.6 per cent of the total capitalist output. In a number of Asian and African countries modern industry was in general absent.

It is not the "exhaustion of food resources" invented by the Malthusians but the most concrete activities of foreign capital which seized land in the colonial countries for plantations and for the extraction of mineral wealth, while retaining backward forms of land ownership and land tenure, which facilitated the stagnation of petty-peasant production on a level which had already for long been in disparity with the rich natural resources of these countries. Vast areas of land suitable for agriculture were not cultivated although the peasants had no land or not enough land; the yield remained at an exceptionally low level although the population experienced food shortages. Thus, in India, where landless peasants—tenants and farm workers—accounted for two-thirds of the rural population, and approximately half of the landowners had less than one hectare of land; more than one-third of the land suitable for cultivation remained unused, the wheat yield amounted to approximately one-third of that in Europe, etc. In Indonesia where before the country's liberation 70 per cent of the landowners had plots of less than one hectare, only nine per cent of the country's territory was cultivated with farm land being mainly concentrated on Java, while the land of all the other islands remained almost completely unused. The average rice yield—1.6-

1.7 tons per hectare—remained practically unchanging since the end of the 19th century.

This agricultural backwardness, typical of the entire colonial world, was a direct result of the poverty of the overwhelming masses of peasants who cultivated the land employing conservative agrotechnical methods and using primitive age-old implements. Due to the constant shortage in funds, the peasants were deprived of the opportunity to irrigate their lands or to develop virgin land, to purchase quality seeds, fertilizer and modern implements. At the same time, under the system of short-term leases of landlord land, widespread in the East, even the comparatively well-to-do tenants refrained from investing in technical improvements.

In turn, the big landowners, receiving high profits from land rent, were not interested in developing their own economy. A considerable share of the entire agricultural produce concentrated in their hands in the form of rent, which afterwards, as a rule, was used for non-productive purposes. For instance, in India some 30 per cent of the gross product was extracted from agriculture in the form of land rent and exorbitant interest and in Egypt during the first postwar years, land rent accounted for approximately 40 per cent of the gross agricultural output.

It is precisely under these conditions, with primitive agricultural techniques and the absence of necessary productive capital investments, that the rate of growth of the population commonly started to outstrip the rate of growth of agricultural production, i. e. that particular

situation of absolute overpopulation developed which the Malthusians attempt to present as the operation of the "universal law of nature."

The real reasons for hunger and poverty in the colonial countries were created by concrete social relations, the elimination of which could only be achieved on the basis of the liquidation of colonialism and the implementation of radical socio-economic transformations.

THE ROAD TO SOLVING THE POPULATION PROBLEM

● It stands to reason that the winning of state sovereignty by itself, without subsequent resolute anti-imperialist and anti-feudal measures cannot ensure economic prosperity. Suffice it to cite the example of Latin American countries which freed themselves from Spanish and Portuguese colonial domination some 150 years ago but which in general are confronted with the same problems as the recently formed young Asian and African states.

To overcome the grave economic and cultural backwardness, to achieve the maximum mobilization of national resources for the needs of state construction, the newly liberated peoples have no other choice than to immediately embark on the consistent restriction of the positions of foreign capital, to establish mutually advantageous foreign economic ties, to carry out agrarian reform, to set up a national industry and to introduce mass public education.

The radical reorganization of agriculture is of exceptional importance for the development

of newly liberated countries with an absolute predominance of peasant population. This includes the liquidation of landlord ownership of the land and the supplying of land to landless, and land-hungry peasants, the banning of exorbitant land rents and the activities of usurers and the annulment of the enormous peasant debts to usurers.

Only on the basis of these measures is it possible, in particular, to solve the so-called food problem, as the elimination of parasitic exploitation will enable peasants to use the funds saved for improving land fertility and increasing labour productivity.

In order that the success of agrarian reforms be of a durable nature and that their economic effect steadily grow, its implementation should be coupled with the state providing credits for agricultural production and the development of the cooperative movement without which it is impossible to go over from the parcelling system of farming which dominates in the East to modern agricultural techniques.

The further development of agriculture in the newly liberated countries depends on the setting up of a national industry, including enterprises for manufacturing chemical fertilizers, farm machines, etc.

At the same time industrialization facilitates the solution of the acute problem of agrarian overpopulation. An equitable redistribution of the already cultivated land eases this problem but cannot provide employment for the entire "excessive" manpower due to the natural limitation of land funds whereas industry during its

development has the ability to use existing manpower resources on an ever growing scale. Simultaneously, industrialization creates favourable conditions for a constant increase in the demand for manpower in other branches of the national economy.

The development of industry in the newly free countries leads to a steady rise in the level of productive forces, to the intensive use of the achievements of modern science and engineering, to a lesser dependence on foreign monopolies, and as a consequence the rate of economic growth begins to gradually outstrip that of the population.

The choice of the non-capitalist road of social development made by a number of newly free countries creates the most favourable opportunities for mobilizing internal resources for economic construction: the confiscation of landowner land without compensation, the nationalization of banks, foreign trade and other major economic sectors, the introduction of rational economic planning, etc.

The experience in state construction in the UAR (Egypt) can serve as a graphic example of the advantages of consistently introduced socio-economic transformations for the development of newly free countries. This example is most indicative as Egypt invariably figured in the works of contemporary Malthusians as an example of a country experiencing all the horrors of "absolute overpopulation." The rapid increase in the population, living mainly in the narrow strip of the Nile valley and delta with an area of less than four per cent of the country's

territory was, until recently, most negatively coupled with a progressive exhaustion of the soil. From 1927 to 1960 the average size of per capita land plots dropped from 0.15 to 0.09 hectares.

Immediately following the overthrow of King Farouk's pro-imperialist regime, a land reform law was adopted which envisaged the confiscation of royal lands, the removal of surplus land from landowners and its distribution at a moderate price on a long-term credit plan among the peasants. In the following years this law was made more radical. In accordance with the 1962 decree, maximum size of plots has been restricted to 42 hectares per family, thus undermining the economic position of the landlord class. The peasants received some 400,000 hectares as a result of the reform.

Along with the redistribution of land property, work was started in the UAR in recent years on the "new valley" project under which more than one million hectares of land will be made arable in the lowland district of the Libyan desert by building a network of artesian wells.

Village cooperatives, including production cooperatives, are starting to play an ever greater role in the life of the Egyptian peasantry. The state provides them with credits on favourable terms, graded seed, ensures the irrigation of their fields and helps them in marketing the crop. Whereas in 1960 there were only 104 agricultural production cooperatives in the country, by the autumn of 1963 their number had already increased to more than 4,000. According to the Egyptian press, the cooperatives led in a num-

ber of districts to a gross output increase of 25 per cent.

The introduction of modern agricultural methods resulted in the sown area growing by almost 10 per cent from 1952 to 1963 with the rice harvest increasing by 100 per cent and the total income from agriculture growing by 70 per cent.

The construction of the Aswan hydrotechnical complex (the main structure being the Saad al-Aali High Dam) opens up a most promising prospect for the Egyptian countryside. Already in 1964, following the commissioning of the first section of the project, the peasantry received thousands of hectares of irrigated land wrested from the desert. In the future, as a result of the Aswan irrigation system, the area under cultivation will increase by one-third. The new land will enable the harvesting of three crops a year. With the commissioning of the Aswan Hydroelectric Station, the UAR will receive double the amount of electricity at present generated. Aswan current will be used for the electrification of agriculture and for manufacturing inexpensive fertilizers; it will be supplied to new industrial enterprises, and to Cairo, via high-power grids and, for the first time in African history, will even be exported to neighbouring countries. It is expected that the Aswan complex will provide the opportunity of doubling the national income, while the expenditure involved in building the high dam will be covered within two years by receipts from its exploitation.

In the period from the July 1952 revolution and up to 1963, the UAR national income in-

creased by 90 per cent, the volume of industrial output trebled and the average annual per capita production increased almost 1.5 times. During the 12 years of independence more than 850 new factories and plants were built in which hundreds of thousands of working people found employment (it is planned to build approximately the same number of industrial projects during the years of the second five-year plan, in 1965-70); at the same time the minimum wages of industrial workers established by law doubled and the length of the working day was reduced.

A system of social security for factory and office workers has been introduced which provides for the payment of benefits in case of sickness, injury at work and unemployment, as well as pensions. In the period from 1952 to 1962 the real income of the population has increased by at least 35 per cent with per capita food consumption increasing on an average from 2,315 to 2,590 calories per day.

The successes attained in economic and cultural construction in the republic are above all a result of resolute measures taken to liquidate the domination of foreign capital and to restrict the parasitic incomes of the exploiting classes, thus making it possible to considerably increase state capital investments for developing the national economy. Not only was the property of foreign companies subjected to nationalization, but the enterprises of national capitalists as well. At present up to 90 per cent of the basic production assets are in the hands of the state—large and medium industry, the transportation system, the banks and insurance companies,

construction and foreign trade companies. During the eight years ensuing after the nationalization of the Suez Canal, it alone gave the state an income of 400 million Egyptian pounds whereas in the past the Anglo-French administration paid Egypt only one million pounds a year for operating the canal. The government has annulled the payment of compensation to landowners for the land taken from them in accordance with the agrarian reform law. Payment of compensation to capitalists for nationalized enterprises will start no earlier than within 15 years and the size of this compensation is not to exceed 30,000 pounds. A progressive income tax has been introduced. An annual income of 10,000 pounds or more is subjected to a 90 per cent tax.

It stands to reason that not only in the UAR but in all other areas of Asia and Africa there are enormous potential opportunities for radically transforming the economy on the basis of rational industrialization, in particular, through the building of national economic complexes, such as Aswan, which are important for industry, the power supply and agriculture. Suffice it to mention the projects for the complex utilization of the exceedingly rich power, mineral and soil resources in the River Congo basin in Africa or the River Mekong in Asia.

The realization of these projects however, which require exceedingly large capital expenditures and skilled scientific technical guidance is a job with which the newly free countries are as yet unable to cope without friendly international cooperation and disinterested all-round

assistance. A graphic example of such cooperation is the Soviet Union's assistance to the UAR people in the erection of the Aswan hydrotechnical complex.

On the other hand, no foreign assistance can do away with internal economic difficulties in those newly liberated countries where the affirmation of national sovereignty has only meant a redistribution of incomes in favour of local privileged classes, where foreign monopolies dominate just as in the past and agrarian reform is delayed and where the state budget is exhausted by exorbitant military expenditures.

Bourgeois economists and sociologists are fond of referring to India as a most vivid example. Let us cite E. Bonnefous, already earlier quoted, who declares that India shows that "the forecast made by the followers of Malthus was a correct one." It is generally known that in India, despite the considerable successes achieved in the economic sphere during the years of independence, especially in industrial construction, the rate of development is less than the rate of growth of the population; the people's standard of living remains low and the food crisis, as the late Prime Minister Shastri pointed out, is the country's most appalling problem. These circumstances show that the proclaimed socio-economic transformations are as yet far from complete.

In the first place this is connected with the agrarian reform on which the development of the productive forces in agriculture fully depends. Stretched over a period of many years the reform has not brought relief to the bulk of

the peasantry, and has not satisfied the land hunger of the landless and small-plot peasants. It has only improved the situation of the upper strata in the countryside. The landlords as a class have been preserved and have been generously compensated in cash for the land taken away in accordance with the reform: in 1951-56 this compensation exceeded 6,000 million rupees which is almost five times more than the sum of state allocations for developing the manufacturing and mining industries in the first five-year plan (1951/52-1955/56). Besides this, more than 58 million rupees are annually spent in paying pensions to formal feudal princes.

A steady rise in the incomes and in the economic power of big capital is to be observed in the country. According to data published by the Reserve Bank of India the profits of private companies increased from 1956-57 to 1962-63 by 216.6 per cent. The enterprises of the main Indian financial-industrial monopoly groups, the Tatas, Birlas, Singhanis and others receive especially high profits. Thus, Tisco, the Tata metallurgical company, succeeded in almost tripling its profits from 1962 to 1964, i.e. within only three years.¹

Foreign monopolies are also strengthening their positions in India. British, American, West German and French companies are penetrating into India's economy mainly by investing capital in "joint" enterprises whose number increas-

¹ *New Age*, February 28, 1965, pp. 10-11.

ed from 75 in 1948 to 1,446 in 1962.¹ In accordance with the increase in foreign investments there is also an increase in the outflow of currency abroad in the form of payment of dividends on these investments (not counting the payment of foreign specialists, etc.). Whereas in 1958-59 this amounted to 362 million rupees, in 1963-64 it reached 980 million and in 1964-65 according to preliminary figures—1,200 million.²

Confronted with these facts the country's democratic forces resolutely demand radical measures for the liquidation of monopolies and the nationalization of a number of branches of industry, the banks, the grain trade, etc. An acute struggle to determine the path of India's economic development took place in January 1964, at the Bhubaneswar Conference of the Indian National Congress, the country's ruling party. The resolution adopted by the Conference pointed out the urgent need to further strengthen the state sector of the economy, to restrict the economic might of monopoly capital and to complete the agrarian reform. These demands were again confirmed in January 1965 by the regular conference of the Indian National Congress.

TWO APPROACHES TO BIRTH CONTROL

● Birth control measures can be of no small importance in stabilizing the economic situation in many African, Asian and Latin American

¹ *New Age*, March 7, 1965, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

countries. However, there are diametrically opposite views in appraising their essence and methods of introduction. Progressive quarters regard these measures as a feasible means for accelerating those objective demographic processes which inevitably arise *in the course of profound socio-economic transformations*. On their part, adherents of the Malthusian theory declare birth control to be *the main means* of overcoming all the economic difficulties of the newly free countries, *thus denying the primary role* of socio-economic transformations, including industrialization.

The only sure way to weaken the pressure of the population and the tensions and unrest caused by this is birth control, Warren C. Thompson, a prominent American specialist on the population problems of South-East Asia and the Near East, pointed out in his book *Population and Progress in the Far East*. If only one quarter or third of the funds and efforts used for setting up a heavy industry and spent on main services would be diverted and used for acquainting the masses with the need for birth control, then the rate of growth of the population could be most definitely slowed within a shorter time than it at present seems possible and the standard of living could be raised much faster, in the course of two or three decades than by following... the plans which place the attainment of this aim almost in full dependence on economic development.¹

In another of his works *The Population Bar-*

¹ W. Thompson. *Population and Progress in the Far East* Chicago, 1959, pp. 339-400.

rier, Thompson declares that the invention of simpler, cheaper and more effective contraceptives could do considerably more towards improving the living conditions of the masses within the next decades than all the costly research conducted in the sphere of industry.¹

It is obvious that such recommendations—which counter national efforts in the sphere of industrial development to birth control measures—are at best useless in solving the intricate problems of the newly free states, as birth dynamics depend on the socio-economic conditions of society's life and not the other way round as Malthusians claim.

A high birth rate is a regular phenomenon in recently freed countries which inherited a backward agrarian economy from colonialism, deeply enmeshed in pre-capitalist survivals in social relations; in countries with an absolute predominance of a poor, illiterate peasant population, where large families and the complete social deprivation of women are sanctified by profound religious traditions, and children are forced to work from the earliest age in order to help support the family. The village commune of these countries, mercilessly exploited by landlords and usurers, crushed by hopeless penury, starvation and disease, buried in rank ignorance and prejudice, deprived of the elementary achievements of modern culture—this commune has become a firm bulwark of the traditional, stagnant way of life. That is why it would be

¹ *The Underdeveloped Lands: A Dilemma of International Economy*, San Francisco, 1960, p. 128.

naive to think that the "propaganda for contraceptives" by itself could have any success under such conditions. Only the resolute uprooting of ingrained social relations as a result of economic, social and cultural developments causes changes in demographic processes and, in particular, creates the material and psychological prerequisites for a drop in the birth-rate.

Such prerequisites include above all the breakdown of the patriarchal mode of life (especially in family relations), under the influence of agrarian transformations and industrialization; a rise in the living standards of the people, the spread of general education.

New perspectives which in this way open up before the youth, the more active participation of women in work and in studies, in public and social life, leads to the important result, that the marriageable age rises and the birth-rate drops. The desire to rationally restrict the number of children is a result of the growth of cultural and material requirements. The strengthening of this tendency is also facilitated by the legal banning of child labour and the introduction of compulsory school education. Finally, a drop in the birth-rate is a corollary to a considerable reduction in infantile mortality, since with a high infantile mortality rate, a high birth-rate is, to a certain degree, in the nature of "compensation."

The demographic history of industrialized countries serves as a graphic illustration of how after the industrial revolution, under the influence of economic and cultural development, the birth-rate dropped. Thus, for instance,

85 years ago, in 1880, the birth-rate in Britain was approximately 35 births per 1,000 population. Then it dropped to 30 in 1900, to 25 in 1920 and to 18 in 1961. The same law is observed in the demography of the Soviet Union which thanks to the socialist revolution was transformed within a short historical period from an economically backward country to one of the most developed industrial powers in the world.

Naturally, changes in the tenor of life, in family traditions, etc., is an inevitable but gradual process in the course of the revolutionary transformation of society and therefore, the drop to an average level in the birth-rate connected with it also does not take place immediately and requires a rather lengthy period. On the other hand, a reduction in the death-rate as a result of an improvement in health standards (improvements in the water supply, the adequate sewerage, the combating of insects, etc.), an improvement in the system of public health, the employment of modern medicine, in particular antibiotics, takes place without delay (for instance in Ceylon the death-rate dropped by 40 per cent after three years of successfully fighting malaria).

Thus, during the transition period there is a noticeable increase in the population which creates additional difficulties for newly free countries which lack capital. There is an increase in expenditure on housing, education, social needs, etc. There is often a need to purchase additional food abroad, thus reducing the already scanty opportunities for productive capital investment.

Besides this, due to the high birth-rate and an unfavourable age pattern in the population develops in these countries, with more children (under the age of 15) than in industrially developed countries (some 40 per cent as compared to 25 per cent of the total population), and hence there is a less advantageous correlation between able-bodied and non-able-bodied age groups. The economic burden resulting from a considerable stratum of dependants is further aggravated in the newly free countries by an as yet low level of labour productivity and the fact that youth enter the labour force at a more rapid rate, as a rule, than the requirements for manpower on the part of the developing economy. Thus, according to estimates of the planning commission of the Indian government, during the third five-year period (1961/62-1965/66) 13 million additional jobs will appear in the country, but the total manpower force will increase by 17 million.¹

That is why in the light of all these specific difficulties of the newly free countries, birth control measures could also be of great importance during the period of radical socio-economic transformations (but precisely on the basis of these transformations, in accordance with the objective social requirements which they evoke, and not as a self-contained urgent means, as the Malthusians claim) and, it stands to reason as a humane measure, in particular the dissemination of scientific knowledge on the hygiene

¹ *New Age*, February 28, 1965, p. 4.

of marriage as part as the general complex of large-scale sanitary-hygienic propaganda among the population.

The wider the scope of economic and cultural construction, the further the newly free countries advance along the road of the democratization of social life and the setting up of an independent national economy in the interests of the entire people and not of individual privileged classes, the more consistently the new demographic processes develop towards stabilizing the reproduction of the population, the more realistic are the opportunities for accelerating these processes, which is of the greatest importance for the majority of the newly free countries, with the help of birth control.

It should at the same time be stressed that a high birth-rate and a high increase in the population under other social conditions, with a sufficient level of capital investments, far from hampering economic and cultural development, has a favourable, stimulating influence. Suffice it to cite the example of the Soviet Central Asian Republics where the natural increase is more than 30 per 1,000 of population.

The life of the peoples of Central Asia in tsarist Russia was just as trying as in many other countries of the East. Soviet power not only destroyed national oppression and colonial exploitation but also put an end to extreme economic and cultural backwardness.

As a result of socialist industrialization, the volume of industrial production in the Central Asian Republics in 1963 increased 29-fold as compared with 1913. The coal, iron ore, oil and

gas, metallurgical, machine-building, chemical, cement and other industries were built up anew in this area. The output of electricity reached 11,200 million kwh in 1962. Agriculture in the Central Asian Republics radically changed: Soviet power liquidated feudal relations, helped the peasants to go over to collective forms of farming and carried out large-scale mechanization of agricultural production.

The almost 100 per cent illiteracy of the population of Central Asia was eliminated within an unprecedentedly short period. The number of students in general schools increased 109-fold from 1914 to 1963—from 32,000 to 3,491,000. Whereas under tsarism there was not a single higher educational establishment in Central Asia, in 1963 there were dozens of universities and institutes enrolling a student body of 205,000.

● And so, the accelerated rate of increase in the world population in the 20th century, especially in its second half, and the aggravation of economic difficulties resulting from this in a number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America provide no ground for "Malthus who was completely defeated by Marx in the 19th century to raise his head today." On the contrary it is only an additional confirmation of the scientific correctness of Marxism-Leninism, graphic evidence of the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, which is incapable of rationally using the vast potential natural resources of the earth and the outstanding

achievements of present-day science and technology for the benefit of mankind.

According to available information, even under present methods of land use, mankind can cultivate from eight to ten times more land for agriculture than is at present utilized.

Food production can be considerably increased even without expanding the present cultivated area by a general transfer to progressive methods of farming. In this way, as Raymond Ewell, an American scientist claims, normal nutrition could be provided for a population which is 3-4 times bigger than the world at present has.¹ In his opinion, an expenditure of some 20,000 million dollars would be needed over a ten-year period for the production of the required quantity of fertilizer. Even bigger capital investments are needed for expanding the manufacture and distribution of pesticides, for improving farm implements, for producing graded seed, for building irrigation systems as well as for organizing agricultural schools.

Nevertheless, the world capitalist economy has no intention of financing these measures; as far as it is concerned, the criterion of expedience is profit and not the drive against starvation and the poverty of people.

At a time when hundreds of millions of people in the world are starving monopoly capital uses technical progress mainly for accelerating the arms race. The imperialist powers annually spend more than 100,000 million dollars for

¹ *New York Herald Tribune* September 30, 1963.

military purposes. During the past five years, US direct military expenditures exceeded 240,000 million dollars while the NATO countries spent from 1949 to 1962 some 760,000 million dollars for military purposes. As estimates show, if only 20 per cent of the military expenditures of the great powers is used for rendering assistance to countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the latter will within the next 20-25 years eliminate their economic backwardness.

The peoples of these countries to an ever greater degree pin their hopes on translating this possibility into reality with the steady strengthening of the forces of peace and socialism. Only socialism, the aim of which is to satisfy the material and cultural requirements of the working people, liquidates social calamities connected with the capitalist method of production, opens up unobstructed prospects for developing productive forces and frees mankind from the danger of war. Only under socialism is a new type of international division of labour created, providing each country with the conditions for the most rational and full use both of its own resources and the opportunities for international cooperation.

While completely dispersing the Malthusian myths, socialism for the first time creates the economic and social conditions which will enable mankind, when freed from exploiting relations, not only to embark on a rational utilization of the world's natural resources, but also to effect a regulating influence on demographic processes in the interests of society.

**Neocolonialists
in the Role
of Interpreters
of Socialism**

● Sharp clashes are taking place in the young African countries between diverse philosophical conceptions, political theories and patterns of economic development. The main opposing trends in Africa—capitalist and socialist—most glaringly reflect the basic contradiction of our epoch on a world-wide scale—the contradiction between capitalism and socialism.

Anti-imperialist revolutions are translating the term “socialism” into the African languages. The appearance of socialist concepts on that continent signifies the attempt to ideologically substantiate the rejection of capitalism as a so-

cial system which has compromised itself in the eyes of the Africans. Irrespective of the diversity, in understanding socialism on the part of African political leaders and publicists, they share one common feature—a negative attitude towards capitalism. “The formula ‘a country’s wealth is measured by the per capita output of steel’ has become a cliché,” Seydon Badian, a Minister of the Republic of Mali, wrote. “However, if black Africa takes the capitalist road how many centuries will it require to become an industrial country? Only socialist construction provides the hope of reaching within a comparatively short period the level of industrial development comparable to that of the developed countries.”¹ A similar idea is also advanced in the Dahomey newspaper *Wolloguede*: “The decisive argument is that capitalism does not ensure such a development of the national economy which would allow the less developed countries to reach the level of the developed countries within the lifetime of one generation. UN experts claim that under the present rate of development some African countries will require 200 years to attain the standard of living of West European countries. But who can agree to wait 200 years?”²

There is no uniform approach to socialism among African adherents of socialist views,

¹ Seydon Badian, *Les dirigeants africains face à leur peuple*, Paris, 1964, pp. 69-70.

² *Wolloguede* (Cotonou), November 1, 1964.

and this is easy to understand. Broad social strata which, as a rule, are of a non-proletarian origin have been awakened to active political life. The processes of forming classes and nations have not been completed in the majority of countries in Africa; in other words, prerequisites for the formation of a mature and clearly defined class ideology are as yet absent. A worker and an intellectual with a London or Paris university diploma, a peasant and a small urban merchant—all, though to a different degree, participate in the national-liberation revolution and are the builders of Africa's future. Each social group exerts influence on the shaping of the ideological superstructure of African society. Naturally, this influence is by no means homogeneous.

A detailed examination of the ideological views of African leaders can serve as the subject for special articles. In this instance we wish to limit ourselves to a brief characterization which will serve as background in sketching the tactics of the enemies of a future, socialist Africa.

Sincere adherents of socialism are to be found among African leaders. They are people who have realized that capitalism is not their road although many of them do not realize, with sufficient clarity the scientific basis of the socialist doctrine. Another group of leaders have defined their approach to socialism as pragmatic. Jacques Rabemanandzara, one of the prominent leaders of the Malagasy Republic, characterizing "Malagasy socialism" bluntly

calls it "mainly practical, pragmatic."¹ Finally, there are the leaders who talk of socialism to be in tune with the anti-capitalist sentiments of the masses. For them a reference to socialism is at times only a means of disguising the glaring gap between words and deeds.

Many African champions of socialism approach certain problems of theory (the problem of the class struggle, the interpretation of religion) in a different way than Marxist-Leninists. This, however, does not mean that the socialist doctrines of African theoreticians are separated from scientific socialism by an impenetrable wall. It would be tantamount to underrating the complexity of the socio-economic problems of present-day Africa to fence oneself off from these doctrines by quotations, to reject them only on the ground that they are being advanced by non-proletarian and non-Marxist elements who do not agree with Communists on all questions.

The numerous socialist doctrines which have appeared in African countries reflect the diversity of the specific national, social and other conditions. These are not complete theories but rather theoretical explorations of the ways to a new organization of society. In the course of social and economic transformations which are being carried out in a number of African countries, theoretical theses on scientific socialism

¹ *Développement et socialisme*. Colloque sur les politiques de développement et les diverse voies africaines vers le socialisme. (Dakar, December 3-8, 1962.) Paris, 1963, p. 275.

are being tested in practice, developed, specified and oriented to an ever greater degree.

One of the characteristic features of our epoch is the revolutionizing influence of world socialism on the countries of the Third World. This influence increases with every passing year, with every new success of the socialist states. The attempts of imperialists to isolate Africa from communist ideas have failed. And it could not have been otherwise. No "laws on the suppression of communism," such as the 1950 law in South Africa, can stop the spread of Marxist conceptions.

Two decades ago African democrats had a most hazy idea about the first socialist state. In the middle of the 50's many of them saw the socialist world for the first time. Today ties are being expanded between sovereign African countries on the one hand, and socialist countries on the other, not only along government lines but also between parties. Africans now have the opportunity of seeing victorious socialism with their own eyes (by visiting, for instance, a Soviet factory or collective farm) and are no longer confined to reading a description of socialism by bourgeois authors. In turn, citizens of the socialist countries are no more learning about Africa and studying its problems, achievements and difficulties only from books, but directly on the spot, in Africa proper. Hence, a sound basis for regular and fruitful cooperation of both sides, for a genuine creative dialogue has been laid. In the course of this dialogue certain insufficiently studied questions are specified, proximate positions examined and cri-

teria elaborated for the further expansion and consolidation of mutually advantageous economic, political, cultural and scientific cooperation.

African democrats are in our times well aware as to what the world of socialism has achieved within a comparatively short period and wish to know precisely how this was attained. Scientific socialism is in many African countries becoming the ideological weapon of the more class-conscious workers, peasants and intellectuals. This is taking place both in countries where Marxist parties are in existence, and in those where there are no such parties.

The growing ideological influence of world socialism on the developing countries leads to an accelerated rate of social transformations in those countries and revolutionizes these transformations. All these facts and especially the choice of socialism made by a number of African countries does not remain unanswered by imperialism. In recent years Western ideologists and certain Right-wing socialist leaders have been intensively elaborating their own theories of the socio-economic and political development of the African continent. The latter are called upon, according to these authors, to serve as a reliable anti-socialist shield in Africa.

What is the essence of these theories? An analysis of their content shows three main trends: the deliberate contrapositioning of Marxism to socialist trends current in Africa; a distorted interpretation of socialism as a theory; the falsification of the experience of socialist construction accumulated by many peoples.

● Bourgeois ideologists, striving to isolate African socialist trends from Marxism, in the first place strive to prove that Marxism cannot be applied to African conditions. Their train of thought can be roughly described as follows: Marxism-Leninism is a theory developed by European minds in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Present-day Africa with its specific conditions in no ways fits into Marxist patterns which, it is claimed, are inherently dogmatic. Hence, the conclusion—Marxism is of no use in Africa.

Paul Sigmund, Professor of political science at Princeton University, characterizing the specific features of the ideology of the leaders of developing countries, points out that in many aspects it excels Marxism-Leninism as it is more pragmatic and to a greater degree linked with the problems of modernization than with the oversimplified dogmas developed on the basis of Europe's experience in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries and which served as the basis for Marxist-Leninist recipes. Doctor Roswita Zastrow, a West-German author contraposes "African socialism" to "Soviet socialism" on the grounds that the former, unlike the latter, "rejects the class struggle and is based on the recognition of the special role of the African peasant commune and includes the preservation of cultural and religious values."¹

¹ *Der Ostblock und die Entwicklungsländer*, Hannover, August 1963, p. 33.

E. J. Berg, a Harvard University economist, labels the views of African socialists who deny the existence of the class struggle in Africa as "heretical Marxism." As if summing up the above, W. Z. Laqueur, a British "Sovietologist," writes that unlike Marxist-Leninists, radical African nationalists ("Afrocommunists," using his terminology) "approve the Leninist theory to a considerably lesser degree; with great enthusiasm they borrow some of the basic dogmas of this doctrine while stubbornly rejecting others."¹

One cannot deny that the authors of such views know Africa and skillfully use certain objectively operating historical and psychological factors in the interests of their class. For many decades and even centuries the human dignity of Africans was trampled on by the colonialists. The contribution of the African peoples to the treasure-house of world culture was denied. The peoples of the Negroid race were declared intellectually deteriorating and inferior. Is there any wonder that there has been a revival of creative thinking in the young African states which have thrown off the hated yoke, is there any wonder that African intellectuals have increasingly attempted to create their *own* original theories, to make their *own* contribution to the spiritual development of mankind? Bourgeois ideologists would cease to be the spiritual ar-

¹ Walter Z. Laqueur, *Communism and Nationalism in Tropical Africa* ("Africa. A Foreign Affairs Reader," New York—London, 1964, p. 191).

bour-bearers of capital if they did not attempt to utilize the tendency towards "autonomic thinking" which is characteristic of the majority of African leaders. Africa has time and again declared through its leaders that it has no intention of joining the world community empty-handed. However, if this is the case, then an effort should be made to supply it with such ideological baggage which would be advantageous to capitalism. Ideological self-assertion, patriotism, anti-racialism and other democratic aspects of African nationalism—all this bourgeois theoreticians are striving to completely turn around, giving them a reactionary trend, transforming them into a weapon of isolation from progressive ideas of our time, and, above all, from Marxism-Leninism.

As far as the essence of the above-cited views is concerned, it is nothing new. The caricature portrayal of Marxism as a purely European theory will hardly convince anyone but the authors of such conjectures. If Marxism is a European theory then, perhaps, the anti-Marxists will explain why the ideas of scientific socialism not only triumphed in a number of European countries but have also made headway in Asia. How is it that these ideas have now spread to the American continent?

Ill-wishers accuse Marxists of dogmatism. However, creative Marxism is precisely distinguished by the fact that it is incompatible with a stereotyped approach to solving any problem. Dogmatism is in crying contradiction with Marxism, this living and constantly developing doctrine.

The assertions of Western authors to the effect that the question of the class struggle and the special role played by the African commune are an insurmountable barrier separating Marxism, on the one hand, and the socialist currents in Africa, on the other, are also unfounded. Fenner Brockway of the British Labour Party, for instance, presents Marxist-Leninists as people who wish to force African socialists to "swallow" the recognition of the class struggle, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of dialectical materialism.¹ Classes and the class struggle are the product of a protracted social and economic development of society. They arose independently of the will of people (Marxists included) on the basis of the social division of labour and the appearance of private ownership of the means of production. The categories enumerated by Brockway can least of all be likened to wonder-working pills and Marxists to doctors attempting to persuade a capricious patient to swallow them. In our times life itself, the experience of creating a new society, is helping many people in Africa who consider themselves socialists to understand the laws of social development and use them as a guide in their activities.

Marxism-Leninism is a harmonious system of philosophical, economic, social and political views. The theory of non-capitalist development which revealed the laws of transition to

¹ Fenner Brockway, *African Socialism*, London, 1963, p. 20.

socialism of peoples that have not passed through the stage of capitalism, or at least that of developed capitalism, is an integral part of these views. This theory has successfully been tested. Many peoples of the Soviet Union as well as the Mongolian people have within several decades succeeded in passing from different types of pre-capitalist formations to socialism, by-passing capitalism. This transition was accomplished conscientiously, and by carefully taking into account specific conditions such as the absence of a fully formed national bourgeoisie and a working class, and the preservation of peasant communes, marked by tribal relations. Thus, Marxism demonstrated to mankind its ability to explain and to transform the life not only of a society with a formed class structure but also of societies which have not yet split into the hostile classes of bourgeois society. If this is the case, then the assertions that Marxism is inapplicable to Africa, since no formed classes as yet exist there (and hence, no struggle between them exists as well) is devoid of any sense.

An attempt to find antagonism between Marxists and anti-imperialist-minded African democrats on the basis of religion also holds no water. The former do not conceal their atheism while the latter make no secret of their religious convictions. A different approach to religion, however, is not an obstacle for cooperation between the African and socialist countries. Nor could this be otherwise. There are as yet no countries in the world where the population is completely atheist. However, there are quite a

number of countries where the working people, who enjoy full freedom of religion, make a tangible contribution to the cause of socialist construction. It would be absurd to suppose that materialists and atheists who are in power in the socialist countries, and have found a common language with religious people who are their compatriots and who respect the law, cannot or have no desire to cooperate with those who advance religious views or traditions of African origin.

DISTORTIONS OF SOCIALIST THEORY

● Apparently, having no hope in the success of a frontal attack on Marxism, Western specialists on African problems simultaneously undertake a round-about manoeuvre. It has already been pointed out that imperialism today is powerless to hinder the spread of socialist ideas on the African continent. However, it has an enormous propaganda apparatus with the help of which it attempts to distort the very concept of socialism, to emasculate its revolutionary spirit and as far as possible to limit its scope and, thus prepared, serve it to the African leaders. This has the following aim: if it is impossible to evoke a hostile attitude on the part of Africans to socialism then an attempt should at least be made, not without socialist phraseology, to draw Africa as far away as possible from *genuine* socialism. In this respect Right-wing socialists are especially active. Their personal contacts with leaders of the national-liberation

movement, and old parliamentary, party, trade union and cooperative ties help them considerably.

The methods used to distort socialist theory resorted to by the enemies of socialism are most diverse. The eloquent silence on what was always considered the basic element of socialism by no means plays a small role.

A Symposium on the Policy of Development and Diverse African Ways to Socialism was held in December 1962 in Dakar. Besides African leaders, many prominent Western political leaders also participated. One of them, Leo Amon, a Deputy of the French National Assembly, when defining socialism included the following four points: planning, a desire to revise the existing social structure, preference for collective actions, and conscious activity on the part of society aimed at directly improving the life of the largest possible number of people.¹ As can be seen, this definition omits the main feature of socialism—public ownership of the basic means of production.

Socialism presupposes not only the socialization of the means of production but on this basis the liquidation of the exploitation of man by man. The definitions of socialism given by bourgeois and Right-wing socialist theoreticians painstakingly ignore or drown in a flood of bombastic phrases the question of eliminating exploitation. Below is another definition of socialism presented to an African audience. "So-

¹ *Développement et socialisme*, pp. 147, 148.

cialism is a spiritual state, a form of being, a method of thinking and feeling, a revolt of the intellect and feeling, the whole complex of feelings, thoughts and values engendered by the human mind," Andre Bidet, a French socialist, claims. Several lines later the author, as if he had suddenly realized something, adds that socialism "comes out for delivering the world from all forms of exploitation."¹ It is most obvious that the diffusiveness and deliberate haziness of such definitions are by no means an accident. "Delivering the world from all forms of exploitation?" But where does the author mention the main condition for a successful struggle against the exploiters—the means of production becoming the property of the whole of society?

When studying the works of Western authors on Africa and for Africa one involuntarily notices the following: bourgeois and social democratic publicists do not usually advance to the fore the national, specific peculiarities of their countries, do not speak for instance of a special "British," "Belgian" or "West German" socialism. However, no sooner do they start to characterize the socialist trends in Africa, than as though by command, they start to sing praises to African originality, African uniqueness and African inimitability. They never name these trends otherwise than "African socialism."

"If it (Africa—*Ed.*) chooses to be socialist,

¹ *Developpement et socialisme*, pp. 303, 304.

it will become it in its own way," Jean and René Charbonneau, two French publicists, wrote.¹ As far as Fenner Brockway is concerned, the originality of African socialist doctrines becomes a fetish. "This will be African socialism, developing on an African foundation, differing in its form and philosophy, but fully socialist, for it will to an ever increasing extent give people the wealth created by them, ensure equality in everything contributing to the realization of human ideals and brotherhood within the framework of a society built on cooperation."² Radou, a Belgian author, goes even further, bringing this idea on the originality of "African socialism" to its logical conclusion. "There can be no doubt," Radou claims, addressing his African audience, "that there are as many socialisms as there are countries which are guided by this (i.e. socialist—*Ed.*) principle."³

The desire of the Africans in the recent past to assert their originality and to rehabilitate the continent's cultural values were criticized in the West. According to Léopold Sédar Senghor, the present President of the Senegal, reactionaries openly condemned, for instance, the "Negritude" concept, which resulted from the desire of African intellectuals to restore the abused dignity of the Negroid peoples.⁴ Bourgeois ideolog-

¹ Jean et René Charbonneau, *Marchés et marchands d'Afrique Noire*, Paris, 1961, p. 143.

² Fenner Brockway, *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

³ *Développement et socialisme*, p. 244.

⁴ Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Pierre Teillhard de Chardin et la politique africaine*, Paris, 1962, p. 26.

ists, however, having rapidly discerned in "Negritude" a reactionary aspect (the setting off of the black race against the white race) are today striving, on the contrary, to use it and similar theories in every possible way. Moreover, they go further, extolling and exaggerating not only Africa's cultural but also its political and ideological originality.

The point of view advanced by Marxists is that the basic principles of socialism are universal in their content. However, the building of a socialist society makes it a must to take into account the local, specific conditions of each country. The forms and rates of socialist reconstruction of the national economy, the laws governing the shaping of socialist production relations are elaborated on the basis of specific national peculiarities and are not imported ready-made. The stereotyped transfer of experience in socialist construction from one country to another is impermissible.

Socialism has been built in the Soviet Union. It is being built by the peoples of a number of countries in Europe and Asia and in Cuba on a common ideological-theoretical Marxist-Leninist basis, thoroughly taking into account all national peculiarities. However, this by no means speaks for the existence of diverse "national" socialisms as for instance, an "Uzbek," "Polish" or "Cuban" socialism. Socialism has no need of special national epithets, as socialism which does not take into account national specific conditions simply does not justify its name.

Bourgeois authors in their struggle for the minds of Africans often deliberately restrict the

conception of "socialism." One of the attributes of socialism is taken at random from the sum-total and is offered to the newly free countries as a panacea. Robert Buron, a French politician, claims that socialism is to a considerably greater degree required by Africa as a method of economic development, as a means rather than an ultimate aim.¹ Buron intentionally counterposes the socialist method for developing the economy to socialism as an ideology, as a theory. The former is declared progressive while the doctrine of socialism as a whole is claimed to be doctrinaire and dogmatic.² With the question placed in this way, socialism is transformed from an integral and harmonious theory into a chaotic conglomeration of completely unrelated postulates and dogmas. It is obvious that such contrasts vulgarize and distort socialism. It is impossible to be an adherent of socialism while accepting some principles of this teaching and rejecting others.

A peculiar theory of automatic transition, without the exertion of any special effort, from the surviving forms of collectivism to socialism has spread in Africa in recent years. Many leaders believe that traditional African society was already a socialist one before the coming of the colonialists, and that, hence, the task today is to "modernize" this primordial socialism and not to create socialism. Such a simplified approach to the building of a new society is at

¹ *Développement et socialisme*, p. 185.

² *Ibid.*

times explained by the fact that people who have declared their adherence to socialism have not realized, due to diverse reasons, the responsibility which this choice places on them. Socialism presupposes a genuine revolution in the development of productive forces, a radical transformation of production relations, and the ability to manage the economy. The leaders in question underestimate the tense, selfless and rationally organized labour of the people who have chosen socialism; they are more concerned with declarations, both oral and printed, calling for the building of socialism.

Such a naive faith in the strength of slogans, which are not substantiated to the necessary degree by real, concrete deeds could not remain unnoticed in the camp of imperialism. Reactionary quarters are attempting to use for their own aims the inexperience or inconsistency of certain African adherents of socialism.

Grandler Morse, an American economist, is of the opinion that in the transition period in Africa "socialist rhetoric" acquires great importance. Professor Morse substantiating its advantages writes: "Indeed, socialist rhetoric is of practical value for it can lighten economic development by showing the road to a possible socialism. Hence, even in the event when socialist rhetoric is not a prelude to the socialist organization of society, it can serve as an important contribution in achieving modernism."¹

¹ *African Socialism*, Ed. William H. Friedland and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., Stanford, 1964, p. 43.

This idea has a manifold meaning. It would appear that the author to some degree sympathizes with African leaders, who uphold socialist views, and correctly acknowledges the great influence of progressive ideas on the rate of social progress. However, when thinking over these words, their general anti-socialist trend becomes clear. Socialist phraseology as interpreted by Morse, is everything, while the socialist reorganization of society is an auxiliary and not so important matter (in any case economic development as such is of greater importance). As far as the importance of revolutionary phraseology is concerned the American professor could be reminded that no social system has as yet appeared with the aid of rhetoric alone (be it "socialist," "capitalist" or any other).

SLANDEROUS ATTACKS

● The above-reviewed pseudo-theories are not the only ones to be found in the arsenal of those who oppose the affirmation of the ideas of socialism in Africa. One of the main directions of the offensive against the socialist aspirations of the African peoples is the systematic disparagement of the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and other countries. Bourgeois and Right-wing socialist theoreticians realize that the peoples of economically backward countries are especially attracted to socialism by the high rates of production development. "They (African socialists—*Ed.*) think," E. J. Berg bemoans, "that maximum growth can

be ensured only by solving their problems on a socialist basis..." It stands to reason that the American scientist does his best to prove that such a point of view is a mistaken one and calls it illusory, etc.¹

The enemies of socialism, not being able to scientifically refute the fact that the socialist economy develops more rapidly than the capitalist, resort to such means as the falsification of the economic history of the socialist countries and at times simply to gross abuse leveled at these countries. The idea is persistently advanced in Western literature that the African countries which have chosen socialism for the high rates of growth of production characteristic of socialism, will have to pay too high a price. The setting up of an accumulation fund "the Russian way," it is claimed, will demand from them enormous deprivations (Fenner Brockway);² a rapid development of the economy using socialist methods would allegedly lead to "sacrificing" one or even three generations (René Dumont³ and Robert Buron⁴). It should be noted in passing that the concern shown by the "humane" representatives of the capitalist West about generations of Africans is several centuries late. Capitalism both in the 18th and in the 19th centuries had the opportu-

¹ *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November 1964, p. 573.

² Fenner Brockway, *Op.cit.*, p. 64.

³ René Dumont, *L'Afrique Noire est mal partie*, Paris, 1962, pp. 92, 239.

⁴ *Développement et socialisme*, p. 186.

ity of developing the economy of the colonies—it was not the Communists who prevented them! However, the main thing lies elsewhere. Talk about the “sacrifice” of generations is just sophistry designed to somehow cover up the deliberate bemuddlement of most definite conceptions.

The difficulties encountered by the Soviet Union, *the first socialist country*, in building socialism were the result of definite historical conditions. Today the building of socialism in any country has been made considerably easier by the existence of the powerful socialist community.

The biased description of the experience in socialist construction given by Western authors is aimed at driving another wedge between scientific and “African” socialism. Unlike “African socialism,” socialism which has been victorious in the USSR is declared to be totalitarian and inhumane. In this respect the utterances of Karlo Schmidt, one of the leaders of West German social democracy is characteristic. Schmidt admits that Africa is at the cross-roads and adjures the Africans not “to yield to temptation.” “This choice could be between collectivist socialism which suppresses the human personality, but which at the same time produces tangible quantitative results, and socialism in its personalistic conception, which liberates the human personality but demands from us great patience. . . . In brief, the countries of Africa like ourselves, should choose between democratic socialism and totalitarian socialism.”¹

¹ *Développement et socialisme*, p. 326.

These slanderous attacks on scientific socialism made by Schmidt are of a stereotyped nature and are unsubstantiated. The above quotation is interesting from a different point of view, namely as an involuntary admission of "tangible quantitative results." We see that even those who open fire on scientific socialism to scare Africa away from it, cannot today ignore the great revolutionizing influence of its ideas on the peoples of the newly free countries.

Recent years have shown an expansion and strengthening of economic and other ties between Africa and the socialist countries. This process for obvious reasons gives rise to a sharp negative reaction in the camp of imperialism. Imperialist propaganda attempts to discredit the socialist assistance to the developing countries, ascribes to the socialist countries certain "exploiting" aspirations as regards former colonies.

Falsifiers cunningly use the theory which counterposes "rich" nations to "poor" or "proletarian" nations and which is widespread in the countries of the Third World. The adherents of this theory claim that the world is not divided into the capitalist and socialist systems but into "poor" and "rich" countries, which, incidentally, include industrially developed countries in general, both capitalist and socialist.

We would like to note, without analyzing such a peculiar division of the world under which all class accents have been displaced, that imperialist propaganda uses such theoretical constructions for its purposes. The division of

the world into "rich" in general and "disinherited" is skillfully used by the neocolonialists (and at times is even inspired by them). The confusion brought about by this division, the identification of socialist states with capitalist ones helps to disguise the historical responsibility of the colonial powers for the plunder of Africa.

● When it is a matter of social transformations, the most unbiassed judge is time, historical experience. Communists are confident that socialism is the future of the whole of mankind. The African peoples will also reach socialism. They will come their own way, introducing a large number of peculiarities in the forms and rates of socialist transformations, at the same time using all that is best in their traditions and customs.

Certain quarters in the West are most anxious to present matters in such a way that Marxists in general do not believe in the authenticity of socialist tendencies which are making headway in Africa. Diverse hare-brained theories, built on an ostentatious counterposing of socialist views of African leaders and those of Marxist-Leninists are used precisely for this purpose.

Those who have made this type of counterposing their profession forget that Communists and African revolutionary democrats have such points of contact as the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and racism, and the struggle for a stable peace

throughout the world. The points of view of the former and the latter either coincide or are proximate on these paramount questions of the day. In other words, insurmountable barriers between Communists and African revolutionaries exist only in the imagination of the enemies of socialism.

African democrats who are staunch opponents of capitalism and sincerely strive to lead their countries onto the road of socialism can rest assured as to the material and moral support on the part of Communists throughout the world. The great theoretical and practical experience collectively accumulated by the socialist nations is similar to a precious spring. All who sincerely wish to build socialism in any part of the world can draw from this spring. The enemies of socialism will fail to muddy the waters in this spring no matter what theoretical tricks they resort to.

L. STEPANOV

**By Whom and How Are
the Newly Liberated
Countries
Being Assisted**

● The economic front has assumed especially great importance in the present-day struggle of the national-liberation forces against imperialism. Today one of the key problems in the struggle of the anti-imperialist forces is the overcoming of economic backwardness and the attainment of economic independence by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. These problems have not only an economic but also a profound political content, since we are dealing with the development of the world national-liberation movement which today is directing its main blow not against the regimes

of colonial administration, which have been overthrown, but against the economic bulwarks of international exploitation, which are the very foundation of imperialist domination and influence.

The struggle for economic independence is developing under difficult conditions. The spontaneity of world capitalism keeps reproducing a situation of economic dependence and exploitation in those former colonies and semi-colonies which remain within the capitalist system of economy. A number of summarized statistical indices provide a picture of how this reproduction of dependence takes place in the newly liberated countries.

In the first place, what stands out is the reduction of the share of the developing countries in the foreign trade of the non-socialist world: from 28 per cent in 1953 to 22.6 per cent in 1963.¹ At the same time *state* credits and subsidies received by those countries have reached an impressive figure, exceeding 6,000 million dollars a year.²

There is a close interrelation of the phenomena reflected in these indices. The newly liberated countries, possessing considerable natural wealth and large manpower resources, are in no position to use them effectively to achieve rapid economic progress, since as the result of protracted colonial domination they

¹ *Statistical Yearbook*. UN, 1964.

² *OECD Development Assistance Efforts and Policies. 1964 Review*, Paris, 1964.

lack the necessary complex of modern means of production and experience a serious shortage of skilled personnel. Besides the political prerequisites required to overcome this obstacle (the removal from power of pro-imperialist forces, and the carrying out of deep-going social changes) what is particularly necessary is increased purchase of machines and equipment on foreign markets and the attraction of foreign specialists to provide technical services. Hence arises the acute need for finances to pay for the import of equipment and services.

The way to acquire such funds that would be most in accord with the national interests of the newly liberated countries, is by increasing revenues from exports. However, prices on the world market for their traditional export goods—tropical raw materials and foodstuffs—have a steady tendency to decline. As a result although the physical volume of the newly liberated countries' exports increased by 34 per cent during the 1958-63 period, the increase in money receipts amounted to only 29 per cent.¹ This in absolute figures means a net loss of approximately 1,500 million dollars a year. It is mainly due to these losses that most of the developing countries have had a constantly unfavourable balance of trade during recent years.

Bourgeois political economy proclaims that the export of private capital is an unfailing remedy for covering this deficit in the trade ba-

¹ *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, UN, New York, March 1965.

lance of the developing countries. However, the influx of private capital results in the withdrawal of profits and dividends, and therefore requires new foreign exchange expenditures on the part of the developing countries. American monopolies, for instance, while investing in the economy of these countries some 300 million dollars a year as direct investments, annually remove from them between 1,500 and 2,000 million dollars in profits and dividends.¹ Thus, what actually takes place is that instead of compensation for the loss in the sphere of trade foreign private capital brings additional losses to the developing countries.

That is why the newly liberated countries replenish their currency resources by drawing on finances in the form of *state* foreign loans and subsidies. This is precisely the economic basis of the new phenomenon in international life which has appeared in the postwar period and is generally known as "foreign aid to developing countries."

No matter what the size of the credits and subsidies received by the newly liberated countries from the Western states, their role in solving the basic problems of the economic development of the former colonies and semi-colonies has proved to be most insignificant, in particular because of the following circumstances. The annual payments of the developing countries on outstanding loans reaches

¹ *Survey of Current Business*, Washington, August 1963, August 1964.

2,000 million dollars a year. When you also add to this their unfavourable trade balance and the losses resulting from the withdrawal of profits in excess of the influx of new capital, then the total sum amounts to approximately 6,000 million dollars, i.e., precisely the annual volume of credits and subsidies provided by all capitalist countries. Thus, the state assistance of the imperialist powers only covers the balance of payments of the newly free countries and fails to provide additional funds for their economic development. At the Geneva Trade and Development Conference, its Secretary General, Raul Prebisch (Argentina) justly remarked: "What is given with one hand is reduced to nought as a result of the free play of market factors."

The granting of credits and subsidies to the developing countries is fundamentally a measure forced on imperialism: the system of international exploitation of the economically backward countries can be bolstered only by annual billion-dollar injections "from without." Without loans and subsidies from the imperialist states the developing countries would be unable to pay out profits to foreign monopolies, and they would have no currency funds for the purchase of goods in the highly developed capitalist countries. In other words, imperialist "aid" is one of the means resorted to by state monopoly capitalism in order to preserve the former colonial periphery as its export market and sphere of capital investment. Imperialist loans bring the newly liberated countries a rise in their state debts, which in turn becomes a fac-

tor for preserving their dependence on imperialism. It is precisely on this economic basis that the Western policy of "aid" takes place, fully subordinated to the diplomatic and military strategic aims of imperialism.

A considerable part of the funds provided by the imperialist states to the newly free countries is nothing but unconcealed bribery for a pro-Western political orientation or is designated for the upkeep and arming of mercenary armies. Even those sums which are allocated without rigid political stipulations are aimed at attaining aims which have nothing in common with the national interests of the young states. The imperialist policy of assistance is to an ever increasing degree becoming an implement for counteracting the socio-economic transformations which have matured in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Western strategists are aware of how great and real is the threat of completely losing their positions in the former colonies and semi-colonies under the conditions when the national-liberation revolution enters the stage of radical socio-economic transformations and when a number of the newly liberated countries have chosen the non-capitalist road of development. Due to this imperialism strives to transform its "aid" into a means for strengthening its contacts and alliance with the bourgeois circles in the developing countries, and to use it to implant private capitalist relations in those countries. The official doctrines of Western "aid" in general and of the American in particular, openly demand that the developing countries carry

out a complex of measures facilitating their development along the capitalist road as the indispensable condition for receiving credits or subsidies.

The imperialist powers, guided by these considerations and at the same time whipped up by the successful development of cooperation between the newly liberated countries and the socialist states, in recent years have made certain concessions as far as the rate of interest and the term of repayment of loans are concerned. As a result the liberated countries receive some benefits of a purely economic nature. This is an example of how cooperation between the forces of socialism and the national-liberation movement curbs imperialism, depriving it of its ability to dictate. However, no concessions on the part of imperialism can change the essence of its "aid" policy as a weapon for interfering in the domestic affairs of the young national states.

The newly liberated countries justly insist on receiving financial means from the highly developed capitalist countries. They consider this to be their historical and morally justified right, since the former parent-countries to a considerable degree grew rich as a result of their colonial plunder of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. However, while receiving credits from the imperialist powers, the newly liberated countries wage and will continue to wage persistent struggle for such terms as are compatible with their national sovereignty and exclude any imperialist interference whatsoever in their internal affairs.

Hence, both today, and in the foreseeable future, the relations formed between the newly liberated countries and imperialism on the basis of agreements on "aid" can only be a sphere of acute struggle. The depth and the social tension of the conflict in this sphere will inevitably increase. Its economic scope will also grow because, as the data submitted to the Geneva Conference proves, if the present tendencies continue, the total deficit in the balance of payments of the developing countries may well reach 20,000 million dollars by 1970. There is no indication that by its credits and subsidies imperialism will be able to pay this bill when it is presented by the newly liberated countries. In this case, however, sharp upheavals are inevitable throughout the entire international system of exploitation supported by imperialism, and the economic positions of monopoly capital in many regions of the Third World will inevitably be undermined. All this will undoubtedly strengthen still further the already clearly manifested tendency of the liberated countries to take the non-capitalist road. The historical experience of countries which have already taken this road shows that non-capitalist development provides an opportunity for more successfully protecting the national interests when confronted by the Western powers, finding additional sources of internal accumulations, and more rationally using the funds at hand. In the long run the problem of economic regeneration can be solved only on roads leading to socialism.

● Economic ties and cooperation between the newly free countries and the socialist states are developing on a fundamentally different basis than those on which relations with the imperialist powers are founded. In this regard the community of interests which unites the forces of socialism and of national liberation—both integral parts of the world revolutionary process—is of major importance. The forward march of history makes the substance of this alliance more profound. Before the collapse of the colonial empires, its aims were determined by the common task of liquidating the direct political rule of imperialism over the oppressed countries. With the disintegration of the basic political institution of colonialism, when the task of strengthening the national sovereignty of the newly liberated countries and their attainment of economic independence came to the fore, this alliance assumed in addition the nature of inter-state relations and included economic cooperation as a qualitatively new element. With the national-liberation revolution reaching the stage of deep-going socio-economic transformations, the transfer of a number of newly liberated countries to the road of non-capitalist development leads to the strengthening of the community of political and economic interests between socialism and the national-liberation movement.

The commodity turnover between the newly liberated countries and the socialist states that are CMEA members increased by 7.3 times during the 1950-63 period, whereas their total foreign trade turnover increased only 2.5 times

during this period. During the past ten years the rate of growth of the foreign trade of these countries with the Soviet Union averaged 20 per cent annually. Such a rapid and steady expansion of export-import operations has never before been experienced by any group of contractor countries. The above figures testify to the birth of a new tendency, which counteracts the steady decline in the developing countries' share in world trade.

The economic cooperation of the socialist countries with the young states on a credit basis has also received substantial development. The total sum of long-term credits provided by the socialist countries to the developing countries exceeds 4,000 million roubles. Loans provided by the USSR account for more than 3,500 million roubles. Thus financial and technical funds have been provided to build some 1,200 enterprises of economic and cultural importance in 43 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The development of economic ties between the socialist countries and the newly liberated countries within a short historical period (10-15 years) has greatly contributed to the strengthening of the world positions of the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation.

From the political point of view one of the major results has been the still closer unity of the two revolutionary anti-imperialist forces of our day. The influence of imperialism in the Third World has been substantially undermined, and opportunities for the consistent implementation of an independent foreign policy

by the young states have been considerably expanded.

The substantial contribution made by the socialist states in developing the productive forces and in industrializing the newly liberated countries is of great importance from the economic point of view. The metallurgical plants built or under construction with the financial and technical assistance of the socialist states in five Afro-Asian countries will more than double steel production in these countries. The erection of oil refineries in seven countries will increase their total output of petroleum products by 60 per cent. The export of sets of equipment from the USSR to Afro-Asian countries has increased 270 times from 1955 to 1964.

The socialist countries in turn are in a position of increasing the supply of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods from the young countries to their industries and also to replenish their stocks of consumer goods. With the newly liberated countries mastering the manufacture of new types of goods, there will be a further expansion in the list of their export commodities in which the socialist countries are interested. For instance, the trade agreement concluded between the USSR and India in 1963 already envisaged that finished goods and processed materials will account for half of Soviet imports from that country.

The desire for equality in mutual deliveries, aimed at reducing to a minimum or avoiding altogether the need to settle accounts in deficit currency, has played a great role in ensuring

the interests of both sides. This has to no small degree helped to improve payment balances of both groups of countries and to preserve their national gold and currency reserves.

The favourable conditions on which the developing countries received loans from the socialist states have proved beneficial to them. This type of aid, which the socialist countries rendered to the newly liberated countries, took form at a time when the practice of imperialist powers actually excluded the delivery of machines and equipment to the newly liberated countries in any form except through ordinary trade channels, i.e., by immediate payment or on the basis of credits excluding any favourable terms whatsoever and with interest rates as high as 6-7 per cent, to be repaid within approximately five years.

The first agreements on economic cooperation concluded by the USSR with a number of Afro-Asian countries (in the middle of the 50's) already established fundamentally different terms for repayment of credits, favourable to the young states. These favourable terms—2.5 per cent interest per annum and a 12-year period of repayment—became the pattern for the overwhelming majority of agreements on Soviet loans to the developing countries. And even the imperialist powers, as has already been pointed out, were compelled to introduce corresponding changes in their "aid" policy.

● The successes attained in developing economic relations between the world of socialism

and the newly liberated countries represent only the beginning of that large-scale process of reorganizing world economic ties which was brought about by the major revolutionary events of the middle of the 20th century—the formation of the world socialist system and the collapse of the colonial empires.

There are rich prospects for the further development of all-round economic relations between the socialist states and the newly liberated countries. Preliminary estimates made by Soviet economists, for instance, show that by 1970 the Soviet Union's foreign trade with the newly liberated countries could be more than doubled, and by 1980 be six times the 1963 level. Similar estimates were submitted to the Geneva Conference by Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. The delegations of these three socialist countries estimated that they could double their imports of basic goods from the developing countries by 1970.

The forecasts of individual economists and planning bodies in the newly liberated countries are imbued with confidence that economic cooperation with the socialist countries has a reliable basis and a great future. Thus the National Council of Applied Economic Research in Delhi, in its estimates to guide long-term planning of India's national economy, pointed out that by 1981 the share of CMEA countries in India's export would apparently increase to 13 per cent, while at the same time Britain's share would drop by seven per cent and that of the United States by six per cent of the 1961

figures.¹ The Indian economists proceeded from the assumption that India's exports to the USSR would increase by 100 per cent by 1981. However, during the visit of the late Prime Minister Shastri to Moscow in May 1965, agreement was reached to achieve such an increase in Soviet-Indian trade already in 1970.

The above figures testify that purely *economic* factors facilitate an expansion of cooperation between the socialist states and the newly free countries. However, there is no doubt that factors of a *social-political* nature can also be of great importance. The experience of recent years shows that the development of economic cooperation between the socialist states and these countries was considerably helped by the deepening of national-liberation revolutions in a number of former colonies and semi-colonies, their growing over to the stage of basic social transformations.

The further successful realization of the lofty principles of internationalism, on which relations between the socialist countries and the young national states are based, today demands a deeper elaboration of a number of theoretical problems.

This concerns, in particular, the question of non-equivalent exchange in international economic relations. This is a matter of great theoretical complexity and this, naturally, expla-

¹ *National Council of Applied Economic Research. Looking Ahead. Prospects of India's Economy and Trade in 1981*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 23.

ins the abundance of contradictory views which are to be found on it among economists. There is not even agreement as to precisely what phenomenon is meant by that term. Some are inclined to call non-equivalent exchange the growing gap between the prices of raw materials and of manufactured goods on the world market. Others use this term to characterize the correlation of the values of commodities on the national and world markets.

It seems that non-equivalent exchange, viewed as a value category, means the exchange of different quantities of materialized labour corresponding to an unequal level of productivity in contractor countries (its non-equivalent nature being manifested in this). This exchange is equivalent, however, if the international value of goods is used as a yardstick. Non-equivalent exchange is thus an expression of the fact that different countries do not have the same national labour productivity. Hence the root of this non-equivalence lies in the sphere of production and not in the sphere of circulation.

It is indisputable that colonialism is historically responsible for those unfavourable consequences that non-equivalent exchange has for the developing countries: in the course of centuries imperialist domination fettered the growth of the productive forces of the colonies and semi-colonies and as a result left them extreme economic backwardness as a legacy. But attempts to find a way to rectify this historical injustice only by changes in the mechanism of the world market, i.e., in the sphere of circula-

tion, leaving aside the question of the development of productive forces, are unrealistic.

In this connection the experience of the co-operation between the socialist states and the developing countries should be stressed as an example of a constructive approach to overcoming the international economic inequality of the newly liberated countries. Indeed, if the highway to liquidating non-equivalent exchange lies through increasing national labour productivity, then the test of the effectiveness of foreign aid is, above all, its concrete contribution to the production apparatus and the technical equipment of the given developing country. In accordance with the agreements on cooperation concluded by the Soviet Union with developing countries, some 30 ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical plants and shops, 45 machine-building and metal-working factories, 20 electric power stations, etc., have already been built or are under construction. It is clear that in this way the developing countries receive the opportunity to substantially improve their production potential, and not merely to use foreign funds to cover current economic requirements. Economists of many newly liberated countries call attention to this most important advantage of socialist assistance as compared with the credits and subsidies given by imperialist countries. Thus, for instance, Professor Said El-Naggar of Cairo University stresses that, unlike American assistance to the UAR, which consists of more than 80 per cent of consumer goods, "Soviet assistance is exclusively represented by means of production and production

services.”¹

Considering the rise of the national labour productivity as the decisive condition for the elimination of non-equivalent exchange, one cannot help but see that this problem is not only economic but also social in content. Indeed, rapid growth of the productive forces in the newly liberated countries is inconceivable without basic transformations in their social life, without going over, in the final analysis, to the road of non-capitalist development. It is only in this way that all national resources can be fully and most effectively mobilized to ensure the required high rate of growth in the economy and its productivity. Under these conditions maximum benefits can also be derived from foreign aid, which would be in accord with the interests of national development.

All this, it stands to reason, does not remove the task of combating the attempts of imperialist monopolies to dictate prices on the world markets. The monopolies strive to artificially boost, or else lower, world prices to their own advantage. They have considerable opportunities to do this, since the highly developed capitalist countries as yet account for two-thirds of the volume of world foreign trade.

● Careful accounting and all-round stock-taking of internal opportunities are invariable elements of the Soviet Union's foreign econo-

¹ Said El-Naggar, *Foreign Aid to United Arab Republic*, Cairo, p. 56.

mic policy, which is integrally linked with the tasks of improving and developing Soviet industry, agriculture and domestic trade. Recent research in the USSR showed that the capital investment required for the manufacture of a number of industrial and consumer goods within the country was considerably greater than the expenditure if they were imported. Thus, the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences conducted tentative calculations, which showed the possibility and economic expedience of organizing production cooperation with a number of newly liberated countries, from which CMEA countries would import cotton fibre, certain ores, non-ferrous metals and some other goods. Such conclusions should be considered preliminary as yet, since this work was conducted by different research collectives without the necessary coordination between them, and hence without a summary of the opinions of specialists in different spheres.

Efforts exerted in this direction open up the road to spreading international production cooperation, which has received wide development within the CMEA framework, to relations between the socialist countries and the young national states. The Soviet Union's agreement in principle to participate with these countries in such measures that would improve the international system of labour division was expressed by the USSR delegation at the Geneva Trade and Development Conference in March 1964. This confronts economists of the socialist countries and their colleagues in the newly lib-

erated countries with the task of preparing scientifically substantiated proposals on developing production cooperation between these two groups of states.

We already have instances of enterprises built in the developing countries with the financial and technical assistance of socialist countries, where by agreement the goods produced in these enterprises will be delivered to the countries which provided the assistance. Agreements of such cooperation go beyond the framework of ordinary credit relations and open up the opportunity for a more flexible and differentiated approach to such questions as the rate of interest and the period for repaying loans.

Naturally, questions concerning the development of production cooperation cannot push aside problems arising in the sphere of circulation, which are linked with improved settlement of accounts on ordinary export and import operations. The newly liberated countries are greatly interested in averting a further drop in prices on their export goods and in stabilizing these prices. The socialist world with its planned economy already exerts a definite stabilizing influence on the foreign markets of a number of newly liberated countries. One of the forms of such influence is the signing of long-term trade agreements, which the Soviet Union, for instance, has concluded with 36 newly liberated countries.

There is an opportunity to carry out other stabilizing measures between the socialist states and the newly liberated countries on the

basis of mutual advantage. At the Geneva Conference the Soviet delegation submitted an important constructive proposal for international stabilization agreements on such export goods of the developing countries as cocoa-beans, oil-bearing seeds, vegetable oil, cotton, citrus fruit, bananas, lead, zinc, copper and oil. Naturally, other types of mutually advantageous agreements, aimed at stabilizing prices, are also possible.

Large-scale cooperation between the socialist states and the newly liberated countries can serve as an incentive to the specialization of certain branches of the socialist economy for export. Such a process deserves wide support in the Soviet Union. Opportunities for such specialization are increasing in connection with the recent drive in the USSR to improve the quality of goods, bringing them up to the best world standards. Export specialization of industry will serve as an additional incentive to improve the effectiveness of this campaign.

● With the further upsurge in the socialist economy and changes in the national economy of the newly liberated countries, opportunities will increase to expand and improve economic ties between these groups of countries. Many forecasts are at present being advanced in the West as to the grave economic future which awaits the developing countries within the next 10-15-25 years. It is indicative that all these gloomy forecasts are accompanied by the reservation: "While the present tendencies remain."

The bourgeois prophets consciously do not want to note that the present tendencies in the world capitalist economy are opposed by a counter-tendency represented by the growing economic cooperation between the socialist states and the young national states, which is steadily gaining strength. The overcoming of the grave economic legacy of colonialism and further social progress open up for the newly liberated countries the prospect of participating in a system of international division of labour which is new to them, a system that excludes inequality and exploitation.

Lenin pointed out that we consider an alliance with and wide support of the national-liberation forces to be "both our duty and *in our interest...*" This behest of Lenin has received all-round development in our time in the policy of the socialist countries to unite the forces of socialism and national liberation on the basis of revolutionary internationalism, in opposition to imperialist reaction.

The USSR and Industrial Development of Newly Free States

● The Soviet Union's cooperation with the developing countries, the young Afro-Asian states in particular, helps their peoples to obtain economic independence and to carry out progressive social and economic changes. Extension of this cooperation is one of the important tasks set out in the Directives of the 23rd Party Congress on the USSR's Economic Development Plan for 1966-1970. The Directives provide for further technical assistance to the newly liberated countries in creating their own highly developed industry and for increased deliveries of machinery and other types of industrial pro-

ducts which these countries need to build up modern economies.

● The emergence of the world socialist system is an historical event; it has brought about international conditions which have considerably stimulated the national-liberation movement and accelerated the break-up of the colonial system. Today the newly free countries are fighting for their economic independence and for the reorganization of their backward economic structure. The main difficulty of this struggle lies in that these countries, while usually possessing enormous natural resources and great labour reserves, cannot effectively use them for the development of national economies. This is largely due to lack of modern means of production and technical experience and to acute shortage of skilled personnel on the one hand, and to the fact that monopoly capital is still firmly established in the economies of many former colonies and is not interested in their industrialization and the growth of their national productive forces, on the other.

Industrialization and technical progress in the various branches of the developing countries' national economies require considerable purchases of machinery and equipment on the world market and aid from foreign technical experts. Most young states, however, do not have sufficient foreign exchange reserves for the purpose and are compelled to resort to foreign loans.

The socialist countries, the Soviet Union

above all, have given generous technical and economic assistance to these states in developing their national productive forces.

The Soviet Union began to establish extensive economic ties with Afro-Asian countries in the mid-1950's. Alongside the growing volume of ordinary export-import trade, an important role was played by technical and economic cooperation based on inter-government agreements. By 1956, such agreements had been signed with Afghanistan and India alone, whereas today the USSR is giving economic and technical assistance to 29 Afro-Asian countries.

Over the past ten years, the sum of Soviet credits granted to developing countries on very favourable terms for repaying deliveries of complete sets of plant and other equipment has gone up from 130 to over 3,500 million roubles. The Soviet Union has undertaken to help Third World countries in erecting some 600 industrial enterprises and other projects. By the beginning of 1966, 180 of them had been put in operation, and complete sets of plant are being supplied for some 215 others. The remaining projects are in the designing, surveying or other preparatory stages. Thus, in 1966-70, the USSR will participate in building 400 or so industrial enterprises.

Before assessing the effectiveness of Soviet technical and economic cooperation with the Third World, it must be noted that the USSR is providing help to developing countries not from surplus material values. Besides, it would be wrong to take as the criterion of impor-

tance and effectiveness just the amount of credits, subsidies and grants. One should also bear in mind the purposes for which credits are given and consider that the socialist countries are helping the young states in laying the foundations of modern national industry and developing the productive forces of the state sector of the economy, which in itself is an important condition for obtaining economic independence. What is also important is that the forms and methods of the socialist countries' cooperation with newly independent states are strengthening the latter's political positions in the world, specifically in their relations with the imperialist powers: for instance, they compel the monopolies to make concessions in fixing the terms of credits.

The West provides credits and subsidies chiefly for the private sector in the developing countries and hinders the growth of their state-owned economy. The bulk of the resources is not granted for the key industries, but for the infrastructure (building of roads, ports, airfields, communication means, etc.). It stands to reason that the developing countries also need such installations, but their construction does not result in any radical change of the agrarian and raw material structure of the economy.

Arnold Rivkin, an American scientist specializing in African problems, wrote in the *American Foreign Affairs*: "United States policy in Africa has lost much of its credibility for a large part of the African continent. We have held out hope for more than we have, in the event, been able or willing to deliver. Often

the promise of brave words was extravagant and unwise; but what is noticed is that it has not been matched by congruent acts.”¹

American “aid” to the developing countries is the object of increasingly sharp criticism. This is admitted by prominent US leaders. For instance, James Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, does not conceal that American “generosity” is not rewarded in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the peoples’ obedience or gratitude.

Soviet economic assistance is given with due regard for the conditions and interests of the developing countries; it helps them to fulfil their programmes for industrializing and diversifying their economies and enhance the planning principles of their economic development.

The experience of the past years shows that this assistance is not only an effective way of helping the developing countries to carry out their economic programmes, but also exerts a definitely progressive influence on their socio-economic development. In India, for instance, the bulk of investment in the state sector of the economy is made to develop the key branches of heavy industry, and foreign economic policy is in large measure determined by the tasks of industrialization and the growth of national production. It would not be entirely wrong to say that Soviet economic and technical assistance to the United Arab Republic, intended for

¹ *Foreign Affairs*, October 1965, p. 111.

progressive socio-economic measures in that country, plays no little part in the UAR taking the path of non-capitalist development.

The nature and purpose of Soviet economic and technical assistance are predetermined by the concrete conditions and level of economic development in each recipient country. In this respect, the territory and population of the country and its natural resources, finances, transport facilities and export possibilities play an important part. Such countries as India, the UAR, Iraq, Algeria and some others are using Soviet assistance to create a diversified national economy, priority being given to industrial enterprises. They are building metallurgical and engineering plants and other works to produce equipment.

Some of the developing countries, who have a small population and a comparatively narrow home market, consider it advisable at first to build factories for producing consumer goods and processing raw materials for export, and also to concentrate on agricultural production. And in all cases, the recipient country itself decides what it should build in the first place. Soviet technical experts only help such countries, at their request, to determine the economic advisability of this or that enterprise, to fix its optimum capacity and also to solve other problems in making the plant profitable to operate.

Long-term agreements on economic and technical cooperation with socialist countries are useful to young Afro-Asian states in the sense that they foster stable economic ties with coun-

tries who have a planned economy and an ever growing market free from the fluctuations so typical of the capitalist system.

When the developing countries started using Soviet credits in large amounts, their trade with the Soviet Union began rapidly to expand. In 1964, Soviet trade with developing countries reached 1,430 million roubles as compared with 780 million roubles in 1960, an 82 per cent increase. This was largely due to growing Soviet supplies of complete sets of plant. (The total value of such deliveries rose from 62 million roubles in 1960 to 270 million in 1964, a 4.3 times increase.)

Soviet economic cooperation with newly liberated countries in Asia and Africa also enables the USSR to get goods necessary for its national economy, thereby saving a certain amount of freely convertible currency. This applies to purchases from developing countries, against credits granted, of wares which in the past the Soviet Union had to import through third countries (for instance, cotton, jute, wool, hides, natural rubber, tobacco, cocoa-beans, coffee). The USSR was compelled to overpay to capitalist trade agencies which served as middlemen between Soviet export-import organizations and developing countries' firms.

As the economies of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries grow and gain in strength and the industrial enterprises built with Soviet assistance are put in operation, the possibility for these countries to repay the credits received increases. In 1964, the Soviet Union imported from developing states, in repayment

of the credits granted to them, various goods to the value of over 120 million roubles, i.e., more than one-fifth of their total exports.

Soviet industry produces equipment which, by its technical and economic specifications, is increasingly adapted to the requirements of the developing countries, including those in moist tropical zones. Soviet experts who participate in assembling equipment and supervise its operation study carefully the complex weather conditions in the tropics and other factors affecting the work of Soviet-made machines and equipment in Asia and Africa. All this enables Soviet factories to take into account the experience gained and the demands of foreign markets so as to make and export to tropical countries more and more efficient and reliable machines.

Owing to technical progress in Soviet engineering, many types of machinery made in the USSR (metal-cutting lathes, metallurgical, electrotechnical and power equipment, turbo-drills, Belarus wheeled tractors, ZIL-157K lorries) conform to the best world standards by their technical and economic specifications and are in great demand in foreign markets, Afro-Asian countries included.

Complete sets of plant from the Soviet Union are mainly supplied under inter-government agreements. Soviet foreign trade organizations, however, also cooperate with individual state agencies and national firms on a commercial basis. On such a basis, for instance, a grain elevator in Iran and a large glass-works in Turkey were built a few years ago with Soviet as-

sistance, and a contract has been signed and preparations are being made for building a thermal power station for 12,000 kw in Iran.

To create a national engineering industry, some developing countries are trying to build enterprises for large-scale serial production of automobiles, tractors, electric motors, radio receivers, etc. Many of these countries, however, are not in a position to organize the production of all units and parts for complex machines and have therefore to import them for some time. Soviet foreign trade organizations are prepared to provide developing countries with technical assistance in building enterprises, which are known as "progressive assembly plants." The Soviet Union can help to draw up blueprints and to supply and assemble the necessary equipment, give licences to manufacture machines and also deliver units and parts which the client is not yet able to make. Soviet experts are, if and when necessary, sent out to help in running plants of this type.

The USSR does not confine itself to assistance in building an industrial enterprise and putting it in operation. It is important for the enterprise to be profitable. To ensure uninterrupted work of such enterprises, Soviet foreign trade organizations supply spare equipment and parts for them, and also raw material and semi-products, if necessary, on the expiry of the guaranteed term of service. For instance, the Soviet Union supplies rollers for the Bhilai Iron and Steel Works and spare parts for the heavy engineering works in Ranchi.

Soviet assistance is effective enough, as even

the West is compelled to admit. For instance, Marshall Goldman, an American economist, emphasized in the US *Foreign Affairs* that "the Russians have a knack" for everything. "What success they have had in foreign aid," he added, "has come from concentrating on certain key projects which are often industrial in nature. These major impact projects not only excite the imagination, but often have productive and visible results. The workmanship and administrative efficiency that go into completing these showpieces are good... The steel plant at Bhilai is one of the largest and most successful in all of the underdeveloped world..."

"The success of the Soviets at Aswan is even more impressive."¹

The Soviet Union helps the newly independent countries to raise the productive forces in the various branches of their national economies. What is typical in this respect is that many enterprises built with Soviet assistance are the first national industrial plants in the countries concerned.

The weakest point in the economic structure of most developing countries is *fuel and power*. The USSR is making a substantial contribution to the power, oil, gas and coal industries of several Afro-Asian countries.

The Soviet Union is helping 15 developing countries to expand their power systems. It will assist in building some 30 power stations with a total capacity of 5,100,000 kw. Soviet

¹ *Foreign Affairs*, January 1965, pp. 349-350.

aid to India, the UAR and Afghanistan is particularly great. The total capacity of the power stations being built in India with Soviet assistance is 2,800,000 kw, which is more than a fourth of India's present total installed. The first 250,000 kw section of the thermal power station near Neyveli (Madras) has been completed. This power plant is now being extended, and its final capacity will reach 600,000 kw. It plays an important part in supplying power for the country's southern areas and serves as a base for creating an industrial complex in South Arcot (Madras). India's largest hydro-power station (600,000 kw) is now being built on the right bank of the Sutlej in Bhakra; it will supply power for the industrial enterprises in Punjab and Rajasthan and in Delhi, the country's capital. Large power stations are also under construction near Korba and Obra.

The hydroengineering complex in Aswan is Egypt's most important project being built with Soviet technical assistance. The Aswan hydropower station will have a capacity of 2,100,000 kw, which will make it possible to produce 10,000 million kwh annually or twice the present total output of all the country's power stations. A high-voltage transmission line (more than 2,500 km long) will run from Aswan to Cairo and Alexandria. The storage lake formed due to the Aswan High Dam will make it possible to create irrigation systems and bring 840,000 hectares of new lands under cultivation, i.e., to expand the country's sowing area irrigated throughout the year by 30 per cent. According to Egyptian

economists, the use of new lands will increase the gross agricultural output by 40-50 per cent as compared with the 1959 level. The first section of the Aswan Dam was completed in 1964. Now the second section is under way. The Aswan hydroelectric station will begin to provide power in 1967.

The Afghan government devotes great attention to the country's power system. The Soviet Union has undertaken to build four power stations with a total capacity of some 120,000 kw, a 100 per cent increase. New power stations in Pul-i-Khumri and on the Jalalabad Canal have already been put in operation. The hydro-power station in the Naglu Canyon, on the Kabul River, is nearing completion. This station will fully meet the Kabul industrial area's demands for power.

In Nepal, the Soviet Union participated in erecting the Panauti hydropower station for 2,400 kw. For Nepal, it is a large power plant; it will improve the power supply for Katmandu and also for local industry, whose development is being held up owing to electric power being in short supply and expensive. Cambodia is receiving Soviet assistance in building a power station for 500,000 kw on the Kam-chai River with a transmission line 272 km long. This station is of great importance for the country, as the capacity of all power plants in Cambodia is only 35,000 kw. According to agreements already signed, assistance will be given to Iraq in building a hydroelectric installation on the River Euphrates, to Syria for the building of a power station on the same

river, to Tunisia for the building of three small hydropower plants, and to Somalia for a power station on the Juba River. The Soviet Union is also helping Iran to build a hydroelectric complex in the border section of the Araxes. It will also supply equipment for a thermal power station in Tabriz.

Developing countries are also receiving assistance from the USSR in creating oil and coal industries. The total capacity of the refineries being built with Soviet aid in these countries is 8,500,000 tons a year. In India, for instance, two such refineries are being constructed—in Barauni and Koyal—each with a capacity of 3,000,000 tons annually. They will account for about 70 per cent of the country's total capacities. The first sections of these refineries are already in commission. India is also receiving aid in building two coal mines near Korba with a total capacity of 1,700,000 tons a year, an open-cut coal mine in Manipur for one million tons a year, and a concentrating mill for coal coking in Kathara (Bihar) with a capacity of three million tons annually.

The USSR helped the United Arab Republic in laying the foundations of its oil-refining industry. Two plants for primary processing of oil—in Alexandria and Suez—each with a capacity of one million tons a year have already been put in operation; the construction of a factory to produce oils from petroleum is under way.

A refinery with a capacity of 500,000 tons of crude oil annually is now under construction in the Ethiopian town of Assab (Red Sea coast).

A heat and power plant is also being erected there for the needs of the refinery, which is being built under the supervision of Soviet experts against the long-term credit granted by the USSR to Ethiopia. Its commission will enable the country to improve its oil products supply and to put an end to the arbitrary rule of foreign monopolies now playing the master on the Ethiopian oil market.

The Soviet Union is providing extensive aid to India, Afghanistan, the UAR, Syria, Pakistan and Mali in oil and gas prospecting. In India, for instance, Soviet experts helped to discover oil and gas deposits which the Indian government is turning into state-owned oil-fields. Oil extraction for industrial purposes has already been started near Ankleshvar; the Cambay gas deposit is ready for exploitation. In Afghanistan, rich deposits of natural gas have been found near Hodja-Gugerdag and Yatim-Tai; they will be used for a nitrogen fertilizer plant and a thermal power station, both of which are being built with Soviet assistance. Some of the gas will be exported to the USSR in repayment of its credits to Afghanistan. The efforts of Soviet geologists have also been crowned with success in Syria, where they have found three oil deposits in the north-east of the country.

The development of national *metallurgy* and *engineering* is one of the basic prerequisites for economic independence and for the upsurge of other branches of the newly liberated countries' national economies. The Soviet Union is assisting these countries in building

some 30 ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical works and shops. This assistance is particularly significant for such countries as India, the UAR, Iran, Ceylon and Algeria, where steel works with a total capacity of about 7,000,000 tons a year and iron ore mining plants to put out 4,300,000 tons annually are being built; production of non-ferrous metals and gold is also in progress.

The Bhilai Iron and Steel Works, constructed over a comparatively short period of time and in difficult climatic conditions, now gives one-sixth of the country's total steel output. Work is being completed to bring its capacity up to 2,500,000 tons of steel a year. The Bhilai works is the most profitable heavy-industry plant in India's state sector. According to official statistics, its net profit in the 1963-64 financial year was Rs 17,000,000.

At the request of the Indian government, the USSR has agreed to help in building an iron and steel works in Bokaro (Bihar) with a capacity of 1.5 to 2 million tons of steel a year, with its eventual increase up to 4 million tons. In December 1965, the project of the works was handed over to India. The Indian government is known to have been negotiating with the United States for American financial and technical aid in building this works. The United States, however, put forward a number of terms unacceptable to India. In particular, it wanted the works to be built in the private and not in the state sector of the economy. The government of India regarded this, and quite correctly, as interference in her domestic affairs,

and the negotiations with the United States were discontinued. This is just an example showing how different are the approaches of socialist and imperialist states to problems facing the developing countries.

Among the projects being built in the UAR with Soviet assistance the steel-rolling shops of the Helwan Iron and Steel Plant are of great importance. They will give 200,000 tons of sheet steel annually with provision for considerable increase in capacity. The Soviet Union is also helping to build a sintering mill and the Arab East's first coking plant in Helwan. Subsequently, the latter's capacity will be doubled. Non-ferrous metallurgical works are also being constructed in the UAR with Soviet help.

Soviet economic and technical aid is used to build an iron and steel works in Annaba (Algeria). The works is designed to put out 300 to 350 thousand tons of rolled stock annually, which will meet the country's demands for some types of rolled stock. The Soviet Union is also giving Iran assistance in developing its metal industries.

Under colonial rule, the Afro-Asian countries had no engineering industry, with the exception of some small factories which put out very simple machines, and repair and assembly shops. That is why engineering has, in effect, to be created in these countries from scratch. The USSR is aiding them in constructing 45 engineering and metal-working plants, of which ten have already been commissioned.

With Soviet assistance, India is about to complete the construction of the country's larg-

est engineering plants: the heavy equipment plant in Ranchi and the mining equipment works in Durgapur. The former will put out 80,000 tons of plant annually, including equipment for blast and open-hearth furnaces and coking batteries, rolling mills, hoisting gear, crushes, building mechanisms and oil-drilling installations. The annual output of the factory will be sufficient to equip an iron and steel works with a capacity of one million tons of steel a year. The Durgapur works is designed to produce 45,000 tons of equipment, which will make it possible to build coal mines with an aggregate capacity of eight million tons a year. The works is partly in operation and is manufacturing such items as pumps, fans, belt conveyers, winches, mining and loading machines and shaft hoists.

The heavy electrical equipment plant in Ranchpur, built with Soviet assistance, will put out turbines and generators (up to 200,000 kw). It will be the largest enterprise in Asia and will be able annually to manufacture power equipment with a total capacity of 2,700,000 kw. This will enable India to save large sums of foreign currency by reducing the import of turbines and electric motors. India is also being assisted in constructing control instruments, compressors and pumps and in steel smelting.

Engineering and metal-working plants are being constructed in some other developing countries. In Afghanistan, for instance, a motor repair works, the country's first engineering plant built with Soviet aid, has been com-

pleted in Jangalak. A farm machinery works and an electrotechnical factory are being constructed in Iraq, a number of projects are being built or are already operating in the UAR.

● Extensive technical and economic cooperation between the USSR and countries of the Third World over more than ten years shows that the Soviet contribution to the national productive forces of these countries is quite considerable.

The Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU on the new five-year plan foresee the need to raise the effectiveness of the Soviet Union's economic cooperation, in particular with the developing countries. The USSR's economic ties with the newly independent states are based on mutual benefits which will increase as the national productive forces grow, export possibilities expand and the effectiveness of Soviet assistance rises on the basis of the maximum use of advantages arising from the international division of labour.

To increase the effectiveness of Soviet complete sets of plant, it is necessary, among other things, to improve designing, surveying and research work needed for correct assessment of the advisability of this or that project, precise determination of their optimum capacities and further improvement of machine and equipment designs, particularly for tropical countries. It is likewise important to improve the training of national technical personnel for the developing countries.

It should also be noted that the success of cooperation depends on the accurate fulfilment of mutual obligations by both parties. Unfortunately, the experience of cooperation between the USSR and some of the developing countries shows that at times they do not provide all the conditions required for the timely installation of the equipment delivered. It also happens that raw materials, sales markets, requisite technical services, spare parts and the like are not always provided for the new enterprises in good time. Such shortcomings reduce the efficiency of these enterprises.

Solution of all these problems will help to raise the effectiveness of cooperation between the USSR and developing countries. The Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, intended further to promote the Soviet national economy and to improve economic planning and management in the USSR, will speed up the growth of the country's industrial potential. This will in turn result in more extensive economic and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and newly liberated countries.

Y. KONOVALOV

Military and Colonial Strategy of Imperialism

● The aggressive, anti-popular aims of the colonial policy pursued by the imperialist powers naturally determine both the choice of means and the methods of its implementation. What is more, imperialism is compelled to reckon with the fact that the conditions in which it pursues its colonialist policy have undergone profound and highly unfavourable changes. Chief among these are the military and political might of the socialist countries, the scale of the national-liberation movement, the powerful revolutionary upswing in the imperialist countries themselves, and the power of world

opinion. These new factors, over which imperialism has no control, create grave and at times insurmountable difficulties for its ideologists. The greatest difficulty, as formulated by Robert Bowie, director of Harvard University's International Affairs Centre, is probably the "integrating of military and political aspects" of strategy. The problem of coordinating foreign and military policy "is not yet solved," he confesses.¹

If by the military and colonial strategy of imperialism we are to understand a well-established and accepted system of views concerning the pursuit of colonialist policy with military means, then it may definitely be said that the West has failed to elaborate such a unified strategy. Such powers as the USA, Britain, France and Portugal, notwithstanding their common desire to preserve colonialism, each have their own imperialist interests and aims, and their own ideas on the methods and means of achieving those aims. The antagonisms between the imperialists on spheres of influence and colonial possessions are particularly acute. This, among other things, explains why imperialism today has not and will hardly have in the future a unified military and colonial doctrine. Imperialism's military and colonial strategy today is an assemblage of various military doctrines, political theories and means of camouflaging them ideologically.

¹ Robert R. Bowie, *Shaping the Future. Foreign Policy in an Age of Transition*, New York-London, 1964, pp. 92, 93.

● There is no hiding the fact that US policy in Asia, Africa and Latin America has in the past few years assumed the character of undisguised aggression and open armed interference. Playing at "liberalism" has been shoved into the background if not altogether abandoned. Imperialism has launched onto new dirty war actions—American-Belgian intervention in the Congo (the Stanleyville operation), invasion of the Dominican Republic by US Marines, direct participation of US forces (and not advisers, as previously) in the war against South Vietnam and, lastly, barbarous US air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

American imperialism has now attributed to itself the right to interfere on behalf of the USA in the affairs not only of any Latin American state, but of Asian and African countries too. Such a course is a new version of Theodore Roosevelt's old "big stick" colonialist policy, with the sole difference that it has now overstepped the bounds of the Western Hemisphere and has become global.

The American press and specialized literature frequently call the US Administration's aggressive foreign policy a new strategy. In so doing, they are forgetting the US imperialist aggression in Korea, the bandit raid on Cuba, the military conflicts in Panama and other places wherever the Pentagon has been making its policy with guns, planes and paratroopers and wherever military and colonial

theories and doctrines have prevailed over common sense and realism.

After the defeats in Korea and Indochina (at Dien Bien Phu) and the Suez fiasco, the Western strategists pinned their faith on the doctrine of "differential deterrence" which is an integral part of the doctrine of "massive nuclear retaliation." In accordance with these doctrines, the USA has set up, besides nuclear forces, powerful armed forces and "counter-insurgency" units. The "differential deterrence" doctrine implied the use of tactical nuclear weapons against liberation movements too. This was gambling on intimidation, on nuclear blackmail, to prevent the rise of liberation revolutions. But these doctrines overlooked at least three factors: the growth of the Soviet Union's rocket and nuclear potential, placed at the service of peace and the security of the peoples, the active support given by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the nations fighting for independence and, lastly, the power of world opinion.

Was there any way of employing tactical nuclear weapons and going unpunished, of preventing a "localized tactical nuclear war" from growing into a world thermonuclear war? Was there any way of persuading the world that the employment of tactical nuclear bombs in colonial wars was admissible and justifiable? Prominent Western politicians and generals long tried to square the circle. The results of the discussion were to a certain extent published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in a pamphlet entitled *On Limiting Atomic War*.

Listing the advantages of the "differential

deterrence" strategy, its authors nevertheless made some admissions which it would be useful to recall today, when the employment of tactical nuclear weapons is again being urged—this time in Vietnam: "There would certainly be an immense psychological and political reaction if a white country again used atomic weapons against Asians. The bitter condemnation throughout Asia and, indeed, among all coloured peoples might well outweigh any tactical military advantages," they said.¹

The testing of the Soviet H-bomb, the launching of the first artificial Earth satellite and the creation of the Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles caused the imperialist camp to indulge in a painful reappraisal of its military, political and strategic conceptions and, notably, of its military and colonialist doctrines. The "massive retaliation" doctrine, the *US Foreign Affairs* wrote in its January-March, 1964 issue, was "not only immoral but incredible; it was an ugly mixture of bullying, bluff and irrelevance."

At the same time more and more US politicians and generals were giving support to the "life-saving recipe" for combating the national-liberation movements and revolutions concocted by Maxwell Taylor, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who stated: "The strategic doctrine which I would propose to replace Massive Retaliation is called herein the Strategy of

¹ *On Limiting Atomic War*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London and New York, 1956, pp. 44, 49 and 50.

Flexible Response.”¹ It was on the basis of this recipe that the “local war” doctrine, later to be fully tested by the Pentagon in Vietnam, was developed. The lamentable results of this doctrine are only too well known. After a series of defeats, the US Administration sent General Taylor himself to South Vietnam. But it proved much easier to elaborate doctrines and defeat the enemy on maps and with books than on the battlefield. The “local war” strategy failed, and a year later Taylor was forced to leave Saigon and go back home.

Now a still newer strategy has been proclaimed in connection with the stepping-up of the war in Vietnam. This one is called escalation. Washington tries to present it as an automatic and inevitable extension of the military conflict, not as the deliberate and hazardous step which it really is. Escalation is now the biggest headache not of the Pentagon alone, but of all the numerous US ideological and propaganda services. For escalation is justly considered by the whole world, including the general public in the USA, as a most dangerous and absolutely unjustifiable course, a senseless and active form of the “brinkmanship policy.” The supporters of the new strategy are in a by no means enviable position when they try to explain why the Pentagon sends Americans to die thousands of miles

¹ Maxwell D. Taylor, *The Uncertain Trumpet*, New York, 1960, p. 6 (see article “The Doctrine of ‘Flexible’ Aggression,” by V. Larionov in *International Affairs*, No. 7, 1963).

from home. The flames of the Vietnam war fanned by the United States threaten to develop into a world conflagration.

The military and strategic aspects of escalation now contain a number of ideological and propaganda elements besides purely military ones.

Well known is the theory of Herman Kahn, a military adviser to the US government, who had a part in working out this strategy. His 44 stages of escalation are aimed essentially at reassuring public opinion with the thought that the patriotic forces and the socialist countries supporting the national-liberation movement will be intimidated, and consequently, escalation will not reach its last, 44th stage.¹

It is for intimidation of some and reassurance of others that these ideological justifications of escalation are concocted.

One cannot help wondering why after having played so long at liberalism and courted different countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the United States is trying to revive the "big stick" policy. Does that mean that imperialism has grown stronger?

It is not difficult to understand that the American hawks (as the Americans call those who support the extreme right policy in regard to Vietnam), who are openly taking control over US foreign policy, are being driven by fear of the irresistible world revolutionary process, by the fear of another Cuba in Latin

¹ See H. Kahn's article in *Fortune*, April 1965.

America, another Congo with a new Lumumba in Africa, and other democratic and independent regimes in South-East Asia, and, ultimately, by the striving to be able to go on plundering the wealth and exploiting the peoples of those countries.

Revolutionary wars are inevitable today, intelligence agent David Galula writes in *Counter-Insurgency Warfare. Theory and Practice*.¹ The author of this book, which has been published as the first exhaustive survey of the strategy and tactics of counter-insurgency warfare, is also compelled to admit that it is not only "Communist activity," but nationalism, as a reaction to neocolonialism, that is at the bottom of insurrections.

The second factor explaining new attempts to show strength is lack of confidence in the ordinary economic, political and diplomatic ways and means of securing US foreign policy aims, and the bankruptcy of the policy of imperialist "aid," bribery, handouts and loans. It is now admitted in Washington that the policy of using puppet regimes and making Asians and Africans fight Asians and Africans has been unsuccessful. To secure allies for its anti-popular, anti-communist and anti-democratic struggle, the United States has been generously supplying these regimes with arms. "Our global military strategy since the end of World War II," said Defence Secretary

¹ David Galula, *Counter-Insurgency Warfare. Theory and Practice*, New York—London, 1964.

McNamara, "particularly in the limited-war area, has always assumed the availability of allied forces."¹

In reality, however, it has proved hopeless to fight the national resistance forces with the aid of local reactionaries and puppet government troops. Analyzing the effects of US military aid to other states, Gen. (Rtd) Hugh Hester bitterly concludes: "After the loss of thousands of lives... and the hundred billion, or more, in aid, the United States Government... has not increased stability but has increased unrest, has not contained communism but has made additional communists in the undeveloped areas..."² And so American guns are booming where the dollar, diplomats and politicians have failed.

The use of aggressive military blocs in the struggle against the national-liberation movement had turned out to be another weak spot in US imperialism's strategic plans. NATO, for instance, has long been in a state of profound crisis. Even the ruling circles in the European member countries give little faith to talk about Soviet threats. The United States finds it increasingly difficult to enlist its NATO allies in armed colonial ventures in return for its armed "defence" of Europe "against communism." Attempts to involve them in military conflicts in Asia and Africa arouse irritation and protest. It is no accident that Federal Ger-

¹ *The Department of State Bulletin*, May 4, 1964, p. 705.

² *Gazette and Daily*, July 29, 1964.

many and Britain are the only NATO members openly supporting the Yankees' dirty war in Vietnam.

The failure of the US plans to make use of SEATO is particularly obvious. Don Larson, a Professor of political science, and his brother Arthur, an international affairs consultant to the President, recently wrote in the *Saturday Review*: "The most tangible is the shifting of a substantial part of the military burden from our shoulders to those of the group. Perhaps even more important, with troops from Thailand, the Philippines, and Pakistan conspicuously in evidence, we begin to transform the image of the war, both inside and outside Vietnam, from one of a quasi-imperialist white Western intervention to a collective South-East Asia action with no racial or colonialist overtones. But when it came to action, the tone became tentative and conditional."¹

The US imperialists' tougher military and colonial policy does not help strengthen the Western military alliances. It only leads to their weakening and disintegration.

"ISLAND POLICY"

● US "global" military and police actions against the national-liberation movements have confronted the Pentagon with the problem of maintaining longer communication lines than

¹ *Saturday Review*, April 24, 1965.

ever before, an extensive system of bases, remote liaison centres, headquarters, deployment areas, arms depots and, lastly, invasion bridge-heads. Imperialism is seeking to preserve its military infrastructure, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, by means of numerous military bases all the world over.

In this day of rapid collapse of the colonial system, the "island" and "base" policies do not belong only to US imperialism. Britain's efforts to preserve military bases in her former colonies (by special agreement) and the United States' urge to acquire and build such bases everywhere in Asia, Africa and Latin America pursue the same colonialist aims.

In recent years several countries have succeeded in having foreign bases on their territory closed and foreign troops withdrawn. Nonetheless, the colonial powers still maintain more than 2,000 bases and strong points in Asia, Africa and Latin America and actively use them for aggressive purposes.

In its aggression in South Vietnam (where it has 110 airfields and eleven naval bases at its disposal), the United States makes wide use of air and naval bases in the Ryukyu Islands, Okinawa in particular, the air base in Guam (for the B-52 bombers of the Strategic Air Force), the Clark Airfield in the Philippines, the British military base in Hong Kong, and the military airfield at Ubon in Thailand. In August this year the United States spent more than 58 million dollars for construction work at its Far Eastern bases alone.

There are more than 500,000 US officers and

men outside the United States and Europe—several divisions in South Vietnam, two divisions in South Korea, one in Hawaii, a Marine division and Air Force units on Okinawa, and 15,000 troops in the Philippines. More than 100,000 troops are stationed at British Military bases and aboard warships in the Mediterranean and east of Suez.

The British ruling circles have made “base policy” the main weapon for preserving the remnants of the British Empire and their influence in the former colonies. Before their advent to power, the Labour leaders often criticized the Tory government for its refusal to cut excessive military expenditure by closing some overseas bases. The British electors who gave their votes to the Labourites in the hope that they would pursue a more sensible foreign policy were soon disappointed.

Prime Minister Harold Wilson has openly declared that he means to defend the British colonial positions east of Suez and to preserve the British military bases lying between Aden and Singapore. This policy finds its practical embodiment in the colonial war in the south of the Arabian Peninsula and the concentration of British troops in Malaysia.

The British government is faced with serious difficulties because in drawing up its military plans it has relied mainly on the preservation and use of overseas bases. First, many of them are inexpedient from a military and political angle on account of the local population’s undisguised hostility towards them and the powerful movement for the removal of for-

eign bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

Secondly, the maintenance of military bases and their garrisons, costing up to 250 million pounds a year (not counting the expenses on the British army on the Rhine), is something present-day Britain cannot very well afford, especially now that she is undergoing a severe financial crisis.

The Wilson government hopes to overcome these difficulties by strengthening its foreign policy alliance and promoting closer cooperation with the United States: Britain believes that the United States will repay support of US criminal policy in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam by political and material support in the colonies. By giving the United States the right to use some of her bases, notably in South Africa, in the Bahamas and on Ascension Island (the latter was used for the Stanleyville operation), Britain hopes to make her American partner foot part of the bill for their maintenance.

The "base policy," however, has become too vulnerable. The Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples are insisting more and more on the removal of foreign military bases from their territory, rightly regarding them as bridgeheads of aggression and colonialism. In the past few years there has not been a single more or less important Afro-Asian conference that has not raised this demand. Bourgeois ideologists and military theorists seek to prove that the Western powers pursue purely military-strategic "defence" aims in establishing bases on the

territory of other countries and claim that they have nothing to do with their own political and economic interests in these countries and areas.

However, even bourgeois military specialists stress that the Soviet Union's growing thermonuclear might and the development of the intercontinental means of delivery of Soviet nuclear weapons have made these bases vulnerable targets and thus considerably detracted from their military and strategical importance. As Max Johnson, a retired US Major-General, stated, "US bases overseas, built up at great cost, are becoming—or soon will become—hostages to the enemy's nuclear missiles."¹ The United States has not given up its bases. Strategically, they are regarded not only and not so much as vehicles of nuclear assault (these vehicles are now the intercontinental missiles stationed in the United States, Polaris submarines, aircraft carriers, etc.) but as targets to divert, at least in part, a retaliatory nuclear blow against the United States in the event of war.

The danger of involvement in a thermonuclear conflict and the prospect of being made a strategic target seriously alarm the countries with foreign bases on their territory. The Afro-Asian peoples' movement against the bases has become so powerful and general that the Western military and political doctrines refer less and less to the "strategic" potentialities of these bases and stress more and more their

¹ *U. S. News & World Report*, May 31, 1965.

growing role as "guarantors of stability" spearheaded against the national-liberation and anti-imperialist movements.

Foreseeing the inevitable abolition of a number of bases in Asia and Africa, British and American military theorists are trying to shift the centre of gravity to the so-called island policy. Actually this is the same old base policy, except that the plan is to establish an additional network of bases, preferably on sparsely populated or desert islands where they will not be exposed to "the danger of nationalism." Britain and the United States are already surveying the possibilities of setting up such bases in the Seychelles, Maldives, Mauritius and Chagos Archipelago in the Indian Ocean. This new group of bases will be spearheaded against East Africa, the south of the Arabian Peninsula and South and South-East Asia.

The imperialists, however, will not find it easy to carry out these plans. The Afro-Asian peoples realize what the establishment of this network really implies. In its Declaration, the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned States sharply condemned the imperialist powers' intention to establish bases in the Indian Ocean as "a calculated attempt to intimidate the emerging countries of Africa and Asia and an unwarranted extension of the policy of neocolonialism and imperialism."

APOLOGY FOR COLONIAL BRIGANDAGE

● "Never in the long, squalid history of governments conditioning people for war has so

much rubbish, half-truth, dissembling, falsehood and righteous paltering been heard," so has Richard Starns of *The New York World Telegram and Sun* rather aptly characterized the unconvincing propaganda clamour raised to camouflage the United States' military and colonial strategy.¹ The first and most important means used to camouflage interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states is the alleged need to combat "internal aggression," as every armed movement of the democratic forces is labelled. According to Averell Harri-man the historic doctrine of non-intervention is obsolete. It was aimed against external aggression, whereas, he says, the present danger is from internal communist aggression.

No matter which democratic forces take part in the revolutionary movement in a given country—Communists, Socialists or people not affiliated with any party—it is perfectly absurd and legally incorrect to label that movement as "internal aggression," for no state can commit aggression against itself. In international law and international affairs, civil wars and revolutions have long been recognized as legitimate and morally justified. It never occurred to anyone in the past to accuse American independence fighters of "internal aggression," or France and Russia of indirect complicity for supporting the patriots against England. Nor was the support given by progressive Europeans to President Lincoln in the war against the

¹ *The New York World Telegram and Sun*, June, 17, 1965.

southern slaveowners regarded as aggression.

Preservation and defence of colonial regimes are regarded the world over as a grave crime against humanity, as flagrant infringement of the elementary standards of international law and the sacred right of nations of self-determination and independence. Condemnation of the colonial system by international law proves the legitimacy of national-liberation wars and, obviously, the legitimacy and necessity of international support for the forces waging an anti-colonial, liberation war. This principle was reaffirmed by the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned States in 1964.

Bourgeois politicians, ideologists and newspapers in the West have another favourite argument to justify aggression against small states—the “theory of commitments,” according to which the colonial powers allegedly bear a special responsibility for the fate of their former colonies. What is more, the imperialists interpret their commitments freely according to the seriousness of the situation, and often assume the right to be “world gendarme,” the right to export counter-revolution.

The conception of commitments does not owe its existence solely to American strategists and ideologists. The old colonial powers invoke the special commitments secured by bilateral military agreements as justification for retaining bases on foreign territory. But what kind of agreements were these? Most of them were imposed by the metropolitan countries on their colonies by force of arms (in Hawaii and the Maldives) or by administrative measures (in

Cyprus). Others have been made a condition for granting independence (in Nigeria for instance). Still others have been imposed in return for economic and military "aid" (Libya). Replying to a question about a reduction in the military budget, former British Defence Minister Thorneycroft said in January 1964, that military expenses of Great Britain were connected with her commitments and in the light of those figures there were no grounds for any reduction. The Labour government is also justifying the continued arms drive by the need to fulfil its commitments "east of Suez."

After Singapore's withdrawal from Malaysia, Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew declared that the British base in his country would not exist for ever and that Singapore would not allow it to be used "for aggressive purposes." The people of Aden are fighting with arms in hand against the British military base on their soil. The Labour government is thus presented with a real opportunity to relieve Britain of some of the most burdensome military and colonial commitments. But that, it seems, is just what the country's rulers do not want. Newspapers close to them have all along opposed any revision of the agreements on Singapore and Aden bases. Such is the real price of the complaints about the "burden of commitments" allegedly borne by the imperialists all the world over.

Commitments are most widely invoked to justify and camouflage the neocolonialist plans of the United States. It is the US rulers that have made this concept all-embracing and glo-

bal. Witness this from Senator Frank Church: "Since the days of the Marshall Plan, the United States has constantly expanded the scope of its commitments to foreign governments. From Western Europe we have moved into Africa, the Middle East and the Far East, until our involvement has become global. Our troops are now stationed in no fewer than 30 countries; we are pledged to defend 42, and we are extending aid, in one form or another, to nearly 100 nations."¹

U. S. News & World Report writes openly: "Power in the non-Communist world, both military and economic, today is heavily concentrated in the US. The facts show it is only this country that has the resource with which to fulfil world-wide commitments."²

These same artificial "commitments" are cited by the US rulers in their attempts to justify the aggressive war they have unleashed against the Vietnamese people.

These arguments about "commitments" have no legal basis whatsoever. The United States has not, and could not have, any legal rights (commitments) to bomb the territory of a sovereign state that is not at war with the United States or any other country. Britain has no legal right to keep a base in Aden, inasmuch as its people are demanding the immediate closure of that base, regarding it as the main bridge-head of aggression and colonialism. In the

¹ *New York Times Magazine*, February 14, 1965, p. 30.

² *U. S. News & World Report*, May 10, 1965.

West's political vocabulary, the concept "commitment" means nothing but diplomatic justification of the military and colonialist actions undertaken unilaterally by imperialism.

VAIN ILLUSIONS

● The bourgeois press describes the United States' present military and colonial policy as a strategy prepared to take any risk, apparently even the risk of unleashing a major war. That is admitted by American statesmen and brass hats too. But how do these statements fit in with the United States' own admission that it would not survive a thermonuclear war (and a major war will be just that), no matter who strikes first, that American cities will be wiped off the earth and a large part of the population will be exterminated?

The days when capitalism could create and preserve colonial empires by armed force have gone never to return. The situation in which the imperialist powers have been in the past two decades is paradoxical indeed: despite the intensifying arms race and the piling up of destructive weapons, the number of their colonies is steadily decreasing and so are their chances of preserving the remnants of their colonial possessions and defeating the national-liberation movement in any country, even the smallest.

For the first time in human history the situation is such that an imperialist aggressor armed to the teeth objectively has no hope of

achieving any political, territorial, economic or other gains by armed force.

What, then, do those kindling local colonial wars expect? Here is how Herman Kahn answers that question: "One of the reasons we are less worried about undertaking little wars is that we're relatively confident that we're not going to get a big war. President Johnson probably does not think he's rocking the boat when he bombs North Vietnam. If he thought he was rocking the boat, he might hesitate."¹

The US political hawks, Kahn admits, expect that aggressive acts against small countries will go unpunished because, they claim, the socialist countries will not want to escalate a local war into a world war.

A dangerous delusion. The Soviet people, true to the principles of proletarian internationalism, assist and will go on assisting the nations fighting for independence. The Communist Party and the Soviet government, upholding the cause of peace, are on the alert against imperialist plots. In recklessly hoping that things will turn out all right, that their opponents' nerves will give in, the imperialists are indulging in adventurism, but history shows that adventurism has never been a successful policy. In present-day conditions it is mortally dangerous for those who place their stakes on it.

¹ *U. S. News & World Report*, June 7, 1965.

V. FYODOROV

The Imperialist
Doctrine
of Intercepting Revolution

THE IDEOLOGICAL LUGGAGE OF THE HENCHMEN OF
COUNTER-REVOLUTION

● The imperialist concept of intercepting social revolution has a place apart among the numerous official and semi-official bourgeois doctrines in the United States. It is a camouflaged version of the export of counter-revolution, that is, the whole range of operations, mostly military and subversive, which have already won notoriety for imperialism in the eyes of the free nations. This doctrine is a reflection of the peculiar reaction of the imperialism to its numerous miscalculations and failures in attempts to suppress by force the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The fiasco of the military sallies against Cuba, the failure of the counter-insurgency operations in South Vietnam and other countries, the frustration of the attempts to divert many young states from the path of independent development, and the wide spread of socialist ideas on the transformation of society in these areas, have forced the US imperialist circles and their ideologists to search for new ways and means of fighting the revolutionary forces in the so-called Third World.

The works of numerous research groups and books and articles by prominent foreign affairs experts in the West are filled with strident calls to capture from world communism its "monopoly" in the guidance of social revolutions. The USA cannot hold on Asia, said the *U.S. News & World Report*, unless the states depending on it, "carry out domestic economic, political and social programmes that well satisfy rising popular demands for freedom and material welfare."¹

Those who advocate interception of revolution insist that the peoples are pushed to insurgency not by oppression but by poverty, for, according to their pseudo-scientific, subjectivist view, the world is divided into "haves" and "have-nots." Bourgeois ideologists say that national leaders with anti-American feelings are in power in more than a third of the globe only because they have learned "to exploit" these conditions. It is therefore the task of the "free

¹ *U. S. & World Report*, June 12, 1961, p. 46.

world" to abolish poverty as a breeding ground for social revolutions and to work out effective means of controlling social-revolutionary movements.

What means do the ideologists of imperialism suggest for limiting, or rather bridling, the national-liberation revolution? J. S. Gibson, a US Professor of philosophy and international relations, calls on the Western leaders to abandon the traditional frontal attack and the arms twisting diplomacy, which only stiffen the resistance of the young nations. They should be replaced, he says, by a policy of slow, gradual and partial penetration into the national-liberation movements.¹ He argues that the countries of the Third World should not be rushed into capitalism, but that the United States should encourage them by all possible means to adopt some of the principles of the "free world." The West should not be scared by such odious words as "socialism," "planning," "reforms," "five-year plans," but should do the utmost to give them a "democratic," that is, bourgeois content. Then, instead of being disconcerted at the "neutralism" of the young states, efforts should be made to win them over step by step to Western diplomacy.

Frankly, the ideological stock-in-trade of the champions of counter-revolution, the would-be spiritual tutors of the fighting nations of the Third World, is a very meagre one indeed. They

¹ See J. S. Gibson, *Ideology and World Affairs*, Boston, 1964, pp. 292, 293.

are incapable of scientifically analyzing social phenomena or taking a constructive view of the major laws governing contemporary world development, and so have to fall back on wishful thinking and building castles in the air.

The claim of the ideological and political leaders of imperialism to the role of spiritual tutors of the peoples in the developing countries is as hypocritical as it is presumptuous. They have precious little faith in their own recipes. That is why they suggest alternative methods of fighting social revolution. One-time chief of the American secret service Allen Dulles said that the use of provocateurs, the faking of documents, weakening the enemy from inside by fanning contradictions between insurgents and the like are all normal CIA practices.

His ideas were unfolded by David Galula and Harry Eckstein, who specialize in counter-insurgency. The former, in his *Counter-Insurgency Warfare*, recommended fighting the insurgent movement by such "decisive measures" as massive infiltration into the ranks of patriots, declarations of some top-level social reforms, establishment of counter-revolutionary political parties proclaiming progressive-sounding slogans, ideological corruption of the insurgent ranks, subversion and espionage, and mass assassination of insurgent leaders.

Recent events provide abundant convincing evidence that Washington is trying to implement the counter-revolutionary "interception" doctrine. The attempt to boost up the rotten regime in South Vietnam, the run-away social demagoguery of the parties to the Honolulu Dec-

laration, the unsavoury role of the CIA and the Intelligence Service in the military coup in Ghana, and the incitement of the reactionaries in Indonesia are all links in a chain which the neocolonialists hope to use to shackle the peoples of the Third World to world capitalism. Summing up the list of counter-revolutionary US actions in Latin America and other parts of the Third World, the British economist David Horowitz says that all this "was not an isolated aberration of policy, but a logical extension of prevailing US attitudes toward the Cuban revolution and toward social revolutions in general."¹

SPECULATIONS ON THE IDEAS OF SOCIALISM

● The toppling moral prestige of the United States and other capitalist powers in the Third World countries has alarmed many Western ideologists, but their advice on how to get out of the impasse still does not go beyond the doctrine of intercepting revolution by distorting the ideas of scientific socialism and embellishing capitalism as a socio-economic formation.

The American sociologist Sidney Lens rebukes the US leaders for their inability to work out a new strategy based on the permanent dynamism of world development. In the postwar

¹ D. Horowitz, *The Free World Colossus*, London, 1965, p. 212.

years, Washington has not given support to a single truly national movement in Asia until it got to power; it has relied above all on dictatorial regimes, and works hand in glove—secretly or otherwise—with the old colonial powers. This has ranged the United States against urgent revolutionary changes in the Third World and gives it today the reputation of being an imperialist state just like Britain and France. Lens says that unless US strategists work out and implement a global programme for “contribution” to the national, social, technical and scientific revolutions now taking place in the world, the USA would be blown off the political map as a world power without a single H-bomb being dropped on it.¹

The failure of US neocolonialist policy is also emphasized by US commentator Cyrus Sulzberger, who regrets the gross foreign policy miscalculations committed by the USA, which, he says, clings to stupid ideas of CENTO and SEATO, refuses to support the liberation struggles of national minorities and wastes so much effort on the Vietnam war, which cannot be won. He thinks that these and certain other US foreign policy blunders have led hundreds of millions of people all over the globe to regard the United States as the leader of the imperialists, while the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are regarded as champions of freedom. It is urgent, he says, for the present US

¹ Sidney Lens, *The Futile Crusade. Anti-Communism as American Credo*, Chicago, 1964, pp. 98, 224.

leaders to revive the ideals of Wilson's "self-determination revolution," and hold high all over the world the torch of revolutionary struggle for national liberation. The national minorities in the world, he says, such as the Kurds, expect the USA to bring them complete political freedom and take them to task when they do not succeed in doing so.¹

It is easy to see that the most rabid enemies of social revolution are trying to live off the ideas of socialism and national liberation, and they have good reason to do so. The last decades have demonstrated that capitalism is not ever lasting. This is an age of unparalleled speed in the change of social forms. The torrent of socialist revolution that rolled across the vast expanses of Eastern Europe and Asia, has reached the Western Hemisphere. It has given rise to the socialist world system, which is gaining in strength and is exercising growing influence on the Third World countries which have taken the path of sovereign development.

Socialist ideas have become the greatest attractive force for national liberation and freedom fighters, while capitalism and colonialism, its offspring, with their inhuman jungle laws, have been suffering one ideological-political defeat after another.

The struggle of the two world systems accelerates the growth of political awareness and acts as an objective international catalysor in

¹ C. Sulzberger, *Unfinished Revolution: America and the Third World*, New York, 1965, pp. 8, 15.

class differentiation. A broad front of fighters for non-capitalist development, for socialism, is crystallizing in the liberated countries. The social arena of scientific socialist ideology has been substantially extended and now embraces also the revolutionary-democratic movement of the petty-bourgeois masses. Socialism is knocking loud at every door and window in the awakened countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Capitalism, doomed by the onward march of modern history, is losing the battle for the hearts and minds of men in the Third World. Accordingly, it turns to the doctrine of intercepting revolution as the last straw in its desperate and futile attempts to bring off a social come-back on a global scale.

The US leaders of neocolonialism naturally start their interception of revolution with ideological subversion against scientific socialism. Their writings abound in assertions that the Leninist theory of revolution is "obsolete," that Marxist-Leninist methodology is "inapplicable" to the analysis of Third World problems and that communism is but a disease of the transition period arising from the division of the world into "have" and "have-not" nations.¹

Some critics make a show of objectivity by flaying capitalism in its earlier stages. The British bourgeois sociologist B. Magee declares that the capitalist and communist ideologies

¹ Herbert Feis, *Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy*, New York, 1964.

are products of the 19th century and are not applicable to modern times.¹ Others, like the American sociologists B. Watson and W. Tarr indict the capitalist system for being the rule of robber barons and moguls operating according to the laws of social Darwinism.

From the point of view of a petty-bourgeois groping for a "special way" of social progress, this ideological platform of the interceptors of revolution may in general appear to be quite respectable. But verbal denunciation of the straight-forward capitalist line is only a trick to divert certain circles in the liberated countries to the capitalist way.

Magee, Watson and Tarr say that capitalism, traditionally based on private ownership of the means of production, economic exploitation, political inequality and deep social and class antagonisms does not exist any more. It has become "democratic" under the influence of the three pillars of the Western way of life, namely, the share-holding of capital, technical progress and universal suffrage. This, they claim, makes it quite suitable for establishment in the Third World.

Bourgeois ideologists suggest wide use of the "socialist" terminology already current in the liberated countries.

Imperialist strategists are jubilant when some ideologists of "national socialism" stress their negative attitude to Marxism-Leninism, and under the pretext of "correcting" it, deprive

¹ B. Magee, *The Democratic Revolution*, London, 1964, p. 8.

it of revolutionary content, substituting "social peace" for class struggle, emphasizing distribution in preference to the mode of production of material values, extolling their countries' specific features and ignoring world revolutionary practice and the importance of international solidarity. Reactionary bourgeois theorists could not help noting that some national leaders in the young states strive to extend their social basis but are afraid to allow the workers and peasants to take part in revolutionary activity on a large scale; that they appeal to the people as a whole, but rely on punitive organs, proclaim radical reforms, but leave powerful political and economic levers in the hands of privileged sections.

BEHIND THE SCREEN OF SHAM HUMANISM

● How is the hesitation and inconsistency of some national leaders in the young states to be used in the interests of the West? How are these countries to be steered on to the capitalist road? George Modelski of Princeton University says that to do this the United States must react swiftly to revolutionary uprisings in the Third World. Such wars, he says, may have one of three possible outcomes: restoration of the old regime, self-determination of the nation, and "settlement," which he prefers. By "settlement" Modelski understands a strategic balance of forces favourable to neocolonialism, under which both the Left and the Right extremists are weakened to the utmost, and the

Centre party takes the stage. This "third force," he believes "can be built up by international action," that is, through a veiled imperialist intervention or direct export of counter-revolution.¹

The desire of the imperialist powers to rely on the Centre parties in the liberated countries points to some degree of renovation of the strategic line adopted by neocolonialism. The compradores, feudal aristocrats, tribal chiefs, top civil servants, who form the traditional social basis of imperialism, are no longer capable of withstanding the working people's mounting class struggle, and therefore the leaders of capitalism look to the national-bourgeois elements, the vehicles of the capitalist mode of production.

The anti-imperialist, democratic revolution developing against the background of the struggle between the two world systems is qualitatively distinct from the national-liberation revolutions of early capitalism. The Centre party as a recognized leader of the new-type democratic revolution is about an epoch late in emerging on the historical arena, because world capitalism has entered its phase of general decline. In our day, the voluntarist attempt on the part of the Washington "interceptors" of revolution to push the liberated countries on to the capitalist way has already clashed with the dominant (non-capitalist) ten-

¹ Quoted from *International Aspects of Civil Strife*, edited by J. Rosenau, Princeton, 1964, p. 146.

dency of the national-liberation revolution.

The attempt to establish local capitalism does not of course signify any freezing of the productive forces. But in this epoch of the competition and struggle between the two world systems, capitalism is no longer capable of meeting the challenge of the times, that is, of ensuring a radical break-up of the colonial economic structure, or, what is most important, of bridging the yawning gap between the levels of the productive forces in the imperialist and the developing countries. Contrary to the subjectivist models of the ideologists of neocolonialism there is one general law governing the development of modern liberation revolutions: their development is ascendant and they inevitably grow into the class struggle of the working people for national liberation, against capitalist oppression.

The revolutionary practice of the United Arab Republic, Burma and a number of other developing countries shows that the Centre party, which expresses the interests of the big and to a certain extent of the middle national bourgeoisie, is bound to remain outside the national-liberation front if it compromises with neocolonialism and decides to consolidate capitalism at home. Life itself has vindicated the words of Lenin, who said that the "vast majority of the population of the globe ultimately learns and is educated to struggle by capitalism itself."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 45, p. 404, 5th Russ. Ed.

The political defeat of the bourgeoisie in each concrete country is due to a number of factors, the chief of which everywhere, however, is the growing contradiction between the working people and the propertied classes, that is, sharpening of the class struggle. In these conditions, nationalism, which plays the role of dominant ideology at the general democratic stage of the movement, ceases to satisfy the vital demands of national renaissance. The ideas of scientific socialism and the spontaneous urge of the masses for social equality and justice give rise to the ideas of national socialism which are a reflection of the transition of national-liberation revolutions from bourgeois-nationalist doctrines to the theory of scientific socialism.

In an effort to slow down the development of the revolutionary process, the ideologists of imperialism maintain that the advocates of scientific socialism engage in what they call a "cult of armed violence" as opposed to their idea of a "bloodless revolution." C. Black, of Princeton University, says that the political, military and economic successes of communist ideology are due to its supporters having mastered at least four methods of revolution, namely, "violent domestic revolution," "revolution from without," "revolution from above" and "revolution by means of election."¹

The imperialist ideologists' crude attempt to

¹ *Communism and Revolution*, edited by C. Black and Th. Thornton, Princeton, 1964, p. 425.

represent the fighters for national independence and socialism as "fanatics of violence" is bereft of any factual foundation. The whole history of national-liberation movements, especially the colonial wars of imperialism in Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, South Arabia and other areas shows that the oppressed peoples take up arms only in reply to ruthless oppression by the colonial authorities. As for the present stage of the national-liberation revolution, Marxist-Leninists have always believed that the further development of the liberated countries towards socialism need not necessarily take the form of an explosion or civil war, that it can assume a non-military form and be spread over a relatively long time.

Behind the screen of a sham humanism, the bourgeois ideologists follow the counter-revolutionary line of conserving dead social institutions, above all the old government system, for they have never admitted the idea of any change of social institutions or radical renovation of the state machine inherited from the colonial epoch. Thus, Black says, all the liberated countries have to do to solve the problem of social revolution is mechanically to adapt the traditional political institutions to the demands of modernization.¹

On the other hand, the strategists of the imperialist interception of revolution believe that such adaptation should include the abolition or at least a substantial curtailment of the func-

¹ *Communism and Revolution*, p. 11.

tions of sovereign national institutions by extending the authority of supra-national bodies. Richard A. Falk, of Princeton University, says that "the only apparent way to balance social progress with enduring peace is to entrust regional and universal institutions with a gradually increasing competence and responsibility for social change."¹

The efforts of the imperialist ideologists to denigrate national sovereignty, which, they say, is incompatible with modern technological and economic "integration," have far-reaching aims. The neocolonialists parade as champions of "social progress" for the purpose of depriving the peoples in the liberated countries of a powerful lever for true revolutionary social change, the raising of productive forces, the abolition of the enslaving system of the international capitalist division of labour and the winning of economic independence. The propaganda of supra-national institutions is a cover-up for the imperialist plans to establish indirect political control over the liberated peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

A "RENASCENCE" OF CAPITALISM OR ITS COLLAPSE?

● The struggle of the two world systems and the weakening of the positions of world capitalism as the contest proceeds lay a deep mark on

¹ Quoted from *International Aspects of Civil Strife*, edited by J. Rosenau, Princeton, 1964, p. 234.

the economic aspects of imperialist strategy for a global social come-back. Tremendous profits and dividends are still being pumped out of the liberated countries.

However, the traditional imperialist approach to the building of the manufacturing industry in the developing countries has been undergoing a noticeable change. Today, the one-time imperial powers, far from preventing the industrial development of liberated countries, have in some cases actually promoted it in an effort to establish control and seize the commanding positions in their economic structure. This modification of the policy of the imperialist monopolies is due above all to the fact that with their extremely backward structure the former colonies cannot be a sufficiently capacious market for the leading industries of the imperialist countries.

But there is more to it than that. In the tense struggle between the two world systems, the question of deriving economic benefits from the exploitation of the colonies frequently becomes secondary for imperialism, which is much more concerned with global strategy and giving capitalism a longer life-span through a "renaissance" in the Third World countries.

Most bourgeois ideologists agree that the way to bring the liberated countries to the level of the industrialized so as to expand markets for the latter is to implant private enterprise by all possible means. American Professor of Economics Hans Singer says that the Western powers must do their utmost to stop the excessive growth of the state sector in the Third World

countries. The role of the state sector, he says, should be confined to creating the infrastructure and general planning. Nationalized enterprises should not be rivals, but partners, of private capital.

Similar calls are sounded in the numerous works written by order of major international organizations of the US monopolies. One such paper, produced under the programme of the Agency for International Development and the Committee on Overseas Development of the National Planning Association of the United States, says the private capitalist sector in the countries of Black Africa should be viewed with due optimism.

Conforming to this neocolonialist policy of reproducing capitalist relations, the United States has been remodelling its programme for economic aid to the countries of the Third World. American Professor of Economics Herbert Feis admits that the United States invariably requires those countries asking for aid to coordinate their national development plans with the American aid programme.¹ Such plans usually provide for measures to stabilize finance and the economy through wage reductions, increased direct and indirect taxes, and, in general, strict economy in popular consumption.

The reactionary theorists of neocolonialism think that their announcement of a programme of social reform and the lifting of the taboo on the manufacturing industries tend to neutralize

¹ See Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

the Third World's great leaning towards the non-capitalist way. But these are vain illusions.

Because of the existence of the socialist world system and its active assistance to the national-liberation movement, the possibility for imperialism to have an adverse effect on the liberated countries' economy is substantially reduced.

The ultimate problem of real economic progress in the developing countries is to raise the social (national) productivity of labour up to the level of the industrialized countries. But if they remain within the capitalist system of international division of labour, its grip on them, despite a certain development of their own manufacturing industries, will tend to keep them on the periphery of the capitalist economy.

Some bourgeois ideologists have recently been putting forward fantastic ideas for solving the Third World's vital problems substituting a scientific and technological revolution for the social revolution. They would like to make the current scientific and technical progress serve their doctrine of global social come-back just as the industrial revolution helped to establish the capitalist system at the dawn of capitalism. But this manoeuvre has no real prospects of success.

Under the present extremely unequal system of imperialist division of labour, many modern scientific and technical achievements are not only beyond the reach of the developing coun-

tries, owing to the backwardness of the latter, but sometimes even tend to work against them.

The scientific and technological revolution is beneficial only when it takes place on the basis of the working people's social revolution to overcome the domination of imperialism and the tyranny of anti-socialist forces at home, and establish an independent national economy.

The champions of "enlightened" colonialism want a general prophylaxis against social revolutions by carrying out some socio-economic reforms from the top, getting rid of the feudal and patriarchal trash in the liberated countries and building up the positions of national capitalism.

The idea is to carry on a campaign of social reforms from the top to prevent any deep truly social and economic change. Thus it is hoped to produce an illusion of better living in the developing countries and to train puppets from among the new bourgeois elite. This would help neocolonialism to kill two birds with one stone: to avert revolutionary explosions by ensuring reliable support in the Third World countries, and to guarantee conditions for the export of capital and industrial goods.

The imperialist doctrine of intercepting revolution is a screen for the strategy of the monopoly bourgeoisie to extend the reproduction of capitalist relations to the Third World. It is this mystification, which bears no relation to the actual historical prospects or to a sober, objective analysis of the present epoch of struggle between the two world systems, that the cham-

pions of neocolonialism are trying to present as the latest word in revolutionary theory and practice for the Third World.

ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛИЗМ. НАЦИОНАЛЬНО-
ОСВОБОДИТЕЛЬНОЕ ДВИЖЕНИЕ И НАША ЭПОХА.

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